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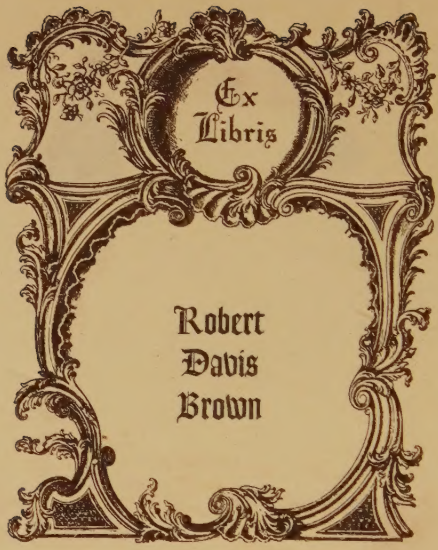
in

The Hill District of Pittsburgh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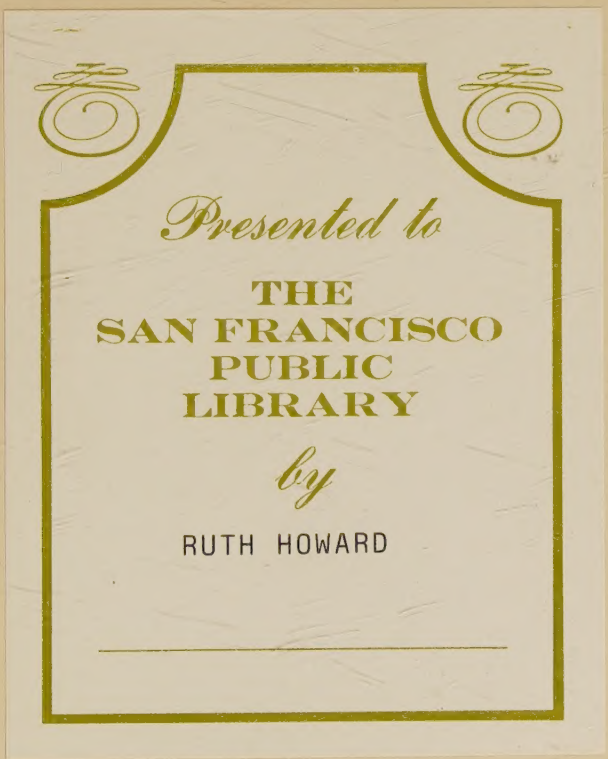
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Social Conditions of the Negro

in

The Hill District of Pittsburgh

Survey Conducted under the Direction
of
IRA DE A. REID
Director
Department of Research
The National Urban League

Published by the
General Committee on the Hill Survey
1930

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE NEGRO IN THE HILL DISTRICT OF PITTSBURGH

Letter of Transmittal

How the Steering Committee carried on its work and why it has gone over the report several times before giving it general circulation.

Mr. Edwin C. May, Chairman
General Committee on the Hill Survey
May Building
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Mr. May:

The Steering Committee appointed by you to have direct supervision of the Hill Survey and its report, herewith presents to you this result of its work.

This work has taken much longer than was anticipated because:

1. The first draft of the report raised many controversial questions ranging all the way from broad questions of policy (should or should not such subjects as race segregation and discrimination be emphasized) to questions of expediency (should or should not the size of the report be materially reduced in order to secure greater reader interest).
2. The first draft presented questions of accuracy of statement. Not only did the committee wish to check over figures and fact statements, but also to consider whether a statement that in itself might be accurate would, perhaps because of context, perhaps because it was not supplemented by other figures, give the reader an inaccurate impression.
3. The first draft contained phrases, sentences, the wisdom of which was questioned. The basis of questioning such phrases and sentences was NOT whether they were unpleasant to Pittsburgh; it was whether
   (a) they would help or hinder the purpose for which the survey was made.
   (b) they would hurt certain individuals without compensating advantage.

   It was on such grounds that we cut out the sentences, "The people there with one or two exceptions are of a low type. They appear rather furtive." They referred to a small group easily identified. Again, we have omitted quotations from the police court records describing possibly identifiable individuals. The Committee felt that these did not contribute materially to the value of the report. Perhaps they might interest a certain type of reader, but because of that very fact they might cause distress and injury if put in a permanent report accessible to the public.

Because of such questions as these, because the report necessarily deals with issues on which there is wide and strong divergence of opinion and because our purpose is to improve social conditions among the Negroes of Pittsburgh, most of whom now live in the Hill District, the Committee felt that time spent in studying the report carefully, in securing and considering every pertinent point of view, would be time well spent. What we desire is to present a report that will form the basis for a constructive program and that will win the support of fair-minded people who are interested in the progress of their city.

This we hope we have done. We realize keenly the imperfections of our work and ask consideration on the score that we are dealing with a very difficult and complicated problem, inherent in which are strong emotions.

We wish to express our appreciation to Mr. Ira De A. Reid of the National Urban League and to the staff he directed. He gave us what we asked, the point of view of a trained outside observer. In revising and condensing his first draft, we have kept in touch with him, for after all it is his report and we believe we are not at liberty to change it except as to possible factural inaccuracy, and with his consent. The second chapter, therefore, is his letter of October 2, 1930 written after he had read the final draft and the comments of Committee members.

The third chapter contains Mr. Reid's Summary and Recommendations and the comments of Committee members.

Then follows the report.

I wish to express appreciation of the time and effort Committee members have given to this work. They are all of them fully occupied otherwise. Their contributions to the Survey were added burdens that they willingly assumed because of their interest in their city and in this large and important group of their fellow citizens.

We all wish to express our appreciation for the aid given by the Buhl Foundation. Were it not for the Buhl Foundation, this study could not have been made.

Lastly I wish to convey to you something of the feeling our Steering Committee has for you. It was a difficult task to find a chairman who had the unusual combination of qualities necessary for leadership in this work. We felt we were to be congratulated when you accepted the chairmanship of the General Committee on the Hill Survey. Now that the work is finished we congratulate ourselves even more upon our wisdom, justified.

Sincerely,

JOHN IHLDER, *Chairman*
Steering Committee
Hill District Survey.

December 13, 1930

GENERAL COMMITTEE ON THE HILL SURVEY

Edwin C. May, *Chairman*

Names of Committee	*Names of their Organizations*
U. N. Arthur	Dep't. of City Planning
W. C. Batchelor	Bureau of Recreation
Wm. P. Bayless	Preston News Service
Dr. L. B. Bernstein	Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and Board of Visitation
Frederick Bigger	Citizens' Committee on City Plan
Miss Enid Boli	Wylie Ave. Branch, Carnegie Library
Homer S. Brown	N. A. A. C. P.
Miss M. Ruth Butler	University Maternity Dispensary Social Service.
James M. Clark	Department of Public Safety
Edward N. Clopper	Federation of Social Agencies
H. K. Craft	Center Avenue Y. M. C. A.
Rev. W. H. Dean	Interdenominational Union
Frank A. Finlay	Moorhead School
G. L. Hailman	5815 Wilkins Ave.
Mrs. E. M. Hall	Urban League
Miss Jane Harrison	Family Welfare Association
Miss Anna B. Heldman	Irene Kaufmann Settlement
Mrs. Q. W. Hershey	League of Women Voters
Rev. A. V. B. Hightower	2700 Bedford Ave.
John Ihlder	Pittsburgh Housing Association
Mrs. Frances Judd	Mercy Hospital Social Service
Dr. Dudley G. King	Livingstone Memorial Hospital
Dr. S. Marie Kinner	Public Health Nursing Association
Mrs. Daisy Lambkin	Lucy Stone League
Miss Katherine Lawless	International Institute
Robert Lewin	United Housing Corporation
Charles F. Lewis	Buhl Foundation
Rev. E. L. Madison	Interdenominational Union
Dr. C. B. Maits	Department of Public Health
Wilbur F. Maxwell	Welfare Fund of Pittsburgh
Mrs. Sara McClenahan	Allegheny Association of Colored Women's Clubs
R. Maurice Moss	Urban League of Pittsburgh
Miss Mary E. Nolin	Americanization Work, Public Schools
A. Oseroff	Montefiore Hospital
Sister Martha Pretzlaff	Passavant Hospital
Mrs. Agnes P. Raciappa	Soho Community House
Mrs. W. M. Randolph	Juvenile Court
Mrs. Enoch Rauh	Department of Public Welfare
Rev. J. B. Robinson	Baptist Alliance
Edward Rynearson	Director of Vocational Guidance, Public Schools
Mrs. Harry G. Sampson	Council of Churches
Harry G. Samson	Welfare Fund of Pittsburgh
Miss Nell Scott	Family Welfare Association
H. W. Shepard	Association for the Improvement of the Poor
R. Templeton Smith	Urban League of Pittsburgh
Miss Alice Stewart	Tuberculosis League
Miss Rachel Taylor	Center Avenue Y. W. C. A.
Sidney A. Teller	Irene Kaufmann Settlement
Miss Harriet Terhune	Children's Service Bureau
Joseph P. Tufts	Pittsburgh Housing Association
Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson	Public Charities Association
Mrs. Doris L. Victor	Jewish Family Welfare Association
Cassius Ward	Baptist Alliance
Miss Jeannette Washington	Public Health Nursing Association

STEERING COMMITTEE

John Ihlder, *Chairman*
Homer S. Brown
Edward N. Clopper
Edwin C. May
R. Maurice Moss
Miss Nell Scott
R. Templeton Smith
Sidney A. Teller

WHEREAS, a survey of conditions in the Third and Fifth Wards of the City of Pittsburgh was undertaken before the establishment of the Bureau of Social Research of the Federation of Social Agencies, and there was then no agency equipped to handle the work in connection with the survey, the staff of the Pittsburgh Housing Association accepted this assignment.

This work included not only the supervision of all typing, correction and revision of the various editions, the preparation of the fifty-five mimeographed copies sent to members of the General Committee and others directly concerned, but also voluminous correspondence and many conferences on details of the report, and WHEREAS, this work was done without any charge on the part of the Housing Association or its staff, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the General Committee on the survey, at a meeting held Thursday, December 18, 1930, directed that the printed report carry this resolution, expressing the hearty thanks of the General Committee for the courteous co-operation and labor performed in behalf of the Committee.

I. INTRODUCTION

Genesis

In the winter of 1928-29 a group of persons became interested in the welfare of the Negro population and the general social conditions of the Third and Fifth Wards of Pittsburgh. A proposal that there should be a day nursery and a recreation center for Negroes in this district immediately raised the question as to the needs for these two facilities.

As a result of this initial proposal a general committee was formed to consider ways and means for promoting the study of social conditions in the Hill District. The National Urban League was asked to direct this study.

Purpose

The findings of the survey were to answer the following questions:

1. What are the social needs of the Negro in the Hill District?
2. How are these needs being met?
3. What needs are not being met and how should they be met?

Operation

Time

The field work was begun on June 17th and continued until mid-August 1929. Data were secured through questionnaires and by mail from June 1st to September 1st, 1929.

Workers

For one month three full time workers were employed in gathering the data; for three weeks three additional full time workers were employed.

Volunteer workers were secured from social agencies in the city. A total of twenty persons were engaged in gathering the data.

Information Sources

The chief sources of information in this survey are as follows:

1. Schedules filled out by workers
   a. Family
   b. Industrial
   c. Church
   d. Club
2. Personal investigations and interviews by workers
3. Census Reports (Federal, State and Municipal)
4. Institutional Records and Reports
5. Previous studies made of Hill District
6. Historical Records
7. Files of Daily and Weekly Newspapers

Acknowledgments

The director of the survey wishes to express his appreciation to the following persons for the effective cooperation given in the course of the study:

Cecil D. Halliburton
Mrs. Maryann H. Brice
Miss Charlotte Enty
Mrs. Mary T. Bumry
Miss Josephine O. Naly
Alonzo C. Thayer
Mrs. Christine F. Jeffries
Miss Georgine Pearce
Miss Jeanette Washington
Max Bond
Chester L. Washington

Because of the valuable assistance rendered by these organizations the gratitude of the director is expressed to

The Pittsburgh Housing Association for the housing investigations.

The Urban League for the examination of its data and volunteer workers.

The Irene Kaufmann Settlement for examination of its social studies, and the use of photographic materials.

The International Institute for a volunteer worker and information on Nationality Distribution.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for office space.

II. LETTER FROM IRA De A. REID

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
1133 Broadway
New York City

Dear Mr. Ihlder:

I may say at the outset that the revised report seems to offer no special complications or need for change.

The comments of the committee members are most interesting. I am not attempting a defense of my recommendations in this letter, but I do feel that there are some fundamental issues involved in the whole question which cannot be overlooked.

Let us consider discriminations or segregation, for example. The fact that whites suffer similar discriminations does not void the discriminations against Negroes. It is true, however, that there are any number of discriminatory practices exercised against Negroes in Pittsburgh that are in no way applicable to any other whole racial group. These practices are quite overt in some instances, while in others they may be less intentional. It is also possible to have as a policy fairness and non-discrimination, and have that policy violated by some fractious subaltern.

The concern of the study, it seemed to me, was centered around the social resources available and not available to Negroes. There may be a great need in Pittsburgh for adequate care for unmarried mothers of all groups, but that in no way alters the fact that in the Negro group there is need for special attention, particularly when all of the existing facilities are not open for them, and the rate of illegitimacy is so much higher among them.

There is no doubt that adequate convalescent care is a city-wide problem, but as such, the problem of color affects that largest of minority groups in a very different manner. Because it is a problem for all groups, the problem of a special group,—the Negro—is in no way minimized.

There are two problems in the Hill District situation that gave me particular concern when the report was being written—Recreation and Day Nurseries. Because of the texture of the whole social fabric in the Hill,—as outlined in the report,—the situation is complicated. Furthermore, it appears futile to undertake the development of a neighborhood house adequate to satisfy the needs of the whole Negro population, when those who are closest to the field know that financially it will be practically impossible to establish such an institution. Mediocrity in social programs and social institutions among Negroes has been a deterrant to the social progress of the race. It has created a false sense of values—popularly known as "Negro standards." To the initiation of a program on that basis I most strenuously object. If a modern, well-equipped, well-managed, standard-conforming institution can be established it will be most helpful. If such is not possible, I believe that the greater utilization of present resources is advisable.

This same problem of financing influenced the recommendation on Day Nurseries. Of course, one need not expect Negro mothers to take their children to a nursery inconveniently located to any greater extent than one would expect mothers of other races to do so. On the other hand, if the amount of money necessary to maintain adequate nursery care for

Negro children in the Hill District were available the major problem would be removed. I quote from Mrs. Tyson's incisive study of Day Nurseries.

> "In a nursery accommodating from thirty-five to forty children a day, and not overweighted with the more expensive care of babies, good nursery care costs about $10,000 a year. The division of the budget is about as follows:
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | Salaries | 30-40% | $3,000-$4,000 |
> | Food | 20-30% | 2,000- 3,000 |
> | General Maintenance | 50-30% | 5,000- 3,000"* |

Consideration of this problem led to a conviction that an adequate piece of case work—family visiting and health work—could provide the basis for a nursery-home project that would reach more homes, at less cost and with less inconvenience. While the budget presented may have been low, the maximum cost would scarcely exceed half the amount necessary to maintain an adequate nursery.

This would of course demand a case-work procedure. I suggested the Urban League because I, as an individual, recognize as one of its fundamental principles the instituting of necessary social programs when these are not undertaken by other agencies, or when no other agency exists to foster them. When the programs of other organizations directly interested in the Negro were considered the conclusion was reached that this organization, better than any other, might undertake that task. Certainly it should be done with the active cooperation of the Children's Service Bureau and the Public Health Nursing Association. Is it not true, however, that the first consideration is whether or not such a program is practicable—and later to decide through what agencies it might be done?

I think that the committee has been quite deliberate in its treatment of the problems presented by the report. While there have been ardent protagonists for varied approaches to the treatment of these problems, it is encouraging to note that there is so much interest on the subject.

My views can not find complete expression in this letter, but should you care to use any of them, you may do so.

Very truly yours,

(*Signed*) Ira De A. Reid
Director

October 2, 1930

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* Standards of Care in Day Nurseries, The Bureau of Children, Helen Glenn Tyson, Bulletin 17, Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, November, 1928.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS OF MR. REID AND COMMENTS BY MEMBERS OF THE HILL DISTRICT SURVEY COMMITTEE

The following Summary and Recommendations are those of Mr. Reid. Naturally all of his conclusions do not win full approval of all members of the committee. So comments of the latter are recorded as foot notes to Mr. Reid's statements and both should be considered together.

These comments, having been circulated among all the Committee members, have in turn been commented upon, with a result analogous to a committee discussion.

Lack of comment is, of course, not to be taken as unqualified acceptance; there is not space to note every exception. Nor would there be any profit in so doing. What Mr. Reid has done is to challenge us, and we have no disposition to cloud the issue by debating minor points.

Throughout Mr. Reid's recommendations there is a note that some members of the committee deprecate. They had hoped the report might deal with the social needs of a definite part of the population without stressing racial feeling. But this has proved impossible. The feeling exists and is a factor that must be taken into consideration. As some Committee members have noted in their comments, whites as well as Negroes lack some of the facilities requisite for a wholesome social life. But Mr. Reid in his letter (Chapter II), written after reading the Committee comments, maintains his position. This position is supported vigorously by a Negro member of the Committee who is quoted in the comments under "The Public Schools."

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS BY MR. IRA De A. REID, DIRECTOR THE HILL DISTRICT SURVEY

Footnotes are Comments by Members of the General Committee

Population

1. Though the Italian and Jewish populations are leaving the Hill District, the Negro population in this area is increasing as are the populations of other immigrant peoples.*

Environment and Housing

1. The studies of housing in the Hill District have shown conclusively that there is need for constructive measures in housing and sanitation for that section. If the existing laws were enforced in these two wards a number of the unsatisfactory conditions would be removed.
2. While some of the neighborhoods have deteriorated into slums, physical and social reclamation is possible in others through repairing, remodeling and painting of houses making them attractive to a better class of people. A program of rehabilitation would not be amiss.

---

* The 1930 Census shows that the 3rd and 5th wards—The Hill District—lost 4,800 in population during the preceding decade—Ed.

In view of the fact that the population of the Hill District (3rd and 5th wards) decreased 4,800 during the decade 1920-30, it is questioned whether the Negro population and that of immigrant people other than Italians and Jews is increasing. An analysis of the 1930 census might show that all the groups are losing ground, the Italians and Jews simply losing more rapidly.

3. There should be a general campaign urging upon colored people the desirability of keeping their properties in an attractive condition.
4. This campaign might become more specific in demanding of owners and of tenants that their properties in the Hill District be made tenable. Both of these campaigns may be conducted by the Negro social organizations in the Hill with the cooperation of the Pittsburgh Housing Association.
5. The untoward conditions existing in this area make it particularly difficult for Negroes to secure loans to purchase property. When it is evident that Negroes are taking especially good care of their homes, and that the municipal government is maintaining desired standards of sanitation, policing, schooling and public improvements, there is little doubt that these loans may be more easily secured.
6. It is particularly desirable that the public officers immediately act to remedy the unsanitary conditions prevailing in these wards, particularly those pertaining to garbage and rubbish disposal, sewerage, and "privy" toilets. Better lighting is desired on many streets while others should be paved.

Health

1. The death rates in the two wards of the Hill District are among the highest in the city, the Third Ward leading all others in the death rates from transmissable diseases. Such conditions may be expected to continue so long as flagrant violations of the sanitary law, and poor housing are typical of the environment.
2. While there are adequate provisions for the general hospitalization of all peoples in Pittsburgh there is need for private rooms where Negro patients may be accommodated.
3. The large number of charity patients among the Negro hospital population has been an important factor in hospitalization for Negroes in Pittsburgh. The work of the Montefiore and Passavant Hospitals among Negroes is to be commended.
4. There is no place in Pittsburgh where a Negro physician or a Negro nurse may receive clinical experience and hospital training.*
5. There is no place in Pittsburgh where a Negro may receive convalescent care. The arrangement whereby persons securing such care are sent to Mayview, apart from being unscientific, is from the point of social welfare entirely undesirable.**
6. The development of Livingstone Memorial Hospital to provide for some of the deficiencies in the current hospitalization pattern for Negro patients—with particular emphasis on private care for Negro patients able to bear the expense and, possibly, on adequate after-care facilities—would be a step in the right direction.

---

* Since this was written the Livingstone Memorial Hospital Association has secured the old Montefiore Hospital property. Negro physicians will be on the clinical staff and Negro nurses will be employed.

** In many ways the provision for unmarried mothers is inadequate, whether the patients be white or Negro. The Negroes are the more unfortunate, however, since of the six maternity homes in the city only one receives unmarried Negro mothers.

As to convalescent care, facilities for white patients are not adequate. There is nothing for boys and practically nothing for men except the St. Barnabas Home, which is very limited. For any such special cases as diabetes or cardiacs, there is nothing. Yet, as one Committee member states, there is a great gulf between "inadequate" and "utterly lacking". We have several excellent convalescent homes for white women and small children, none at all for Negroes.

7. Since the major portion of medical care in the home which demands the attention of a physician is given by the Negro physician, the health institutions of the city may be said to be retarding the physical development of the Negro group in not permitting these Negro practitioners the opportunity for advanced work and new methods in their field.
8. The health education of the Negro is a most necessary step toward improving his physical status. The work done by the Public Health Nursing Association, the City Milk Station, and the Well Baby Clinics has been of great value in the community. There is need, however, for a larger personnel and more work of this sort in the Hill District.
9. As the provisions for unmarried Negro mothers is by far inadequate, some step should be taken to meet the need.
10. The Annual Negro Health Week Program conducted by the Negro Social Agencies is of singular importance. Not only should it be encouraged, but with the aid of public and private health agencies its activities should be expanded.

Industry and Employment

1. Great gains in industrial occupations as unskilled workers have been made by the Negro in Pittsburgh since 1917. While he has become a component part of the industrial labor supply of the district, he has not been afforded the opportunity for promotion into the semi-skilled and skilled positions that he has warranted.
2. The advance of the Negro woman worker has been slow. Few, if any, occupations in which she was not employed in 1920 have been opened to her.
3. There is need for a constructive industrial program among Negroes in Pittsburgh. While this work is the distinct function of the Urban League, that organization—because of financial handicaps —has done little constructive work in the field in the last few years. It is suggested that this organization set out immediately to face this problem. Its program might include activities bent upon achieving the following results:
    (1) Improving the morale, efficiency and consciousness of Negro workers.
    (2) Creating a demand for Negro employees in positions for which they are available and where they are not employed.
    (3) Interpreting Negro labor to the public, employers and workers.
    (4) Instituting a program of vocational guidance for youths and adults, such a program to be based upon the existing opportunities and the possibilities for pursuing certain occupations in the Pittsburgh area.
    (5) Conducting a non-commercial employment service in connection with this work upon a broader scale than it is being done at present.
4. To the Y. W. C. A., because of its industrial work, it is recommended that emphasis be placed upon training for Negro domestics. The inroads that are being made into this occupation by other workers threaten to eliminate the Negro from all domestic occupations unless a better class of service is available. As this is the only field in which any number of Negro women find employment, such a step would be judicious.

Delinquency and Crime

1. The percentage of Negro arrests is higher than the average arrests for the whole city.*
2. Flagrant violations of the city's criminal code exist in the Hill District. So long as they are permitted to exist, and openly, there is little hope for improving the social conditions in that area.
3. Institutional facilities for the care of delinquent Negro girls in Pittsburgh are inadequate. Though 71 delinquent Negro girls appeared before the Juvenile Court in 1928, the Gumbert Industrial School has accommodations for no more than six Negro girls.
4. The use of Negro workers in the Juvenile Court and the Morals Court is important in the adjustment of many problems facing Negro dependents. There is need, however, for a preventive and social rehabilitation program similar to that of the Big Brother and Big Sister Movements.
5. Though the facts cannot be established with sufficient clarity to make a recommendation, it appears that the arrests of Negroes in the Hill District are too promiscuous when 51.6% of those arrested are discharged. Likewise, it is to be assumed that the Courts are not so lenient with Negro offenders as with those of other races. In 1928, 63.8% of the total persons arrested in the Hill District were discharged—but 48.4% of the Negroes were punished.*
6. It is recommended that more policemen be assigned to duty in these wards. Some sections of the Hill are underpoliced to the extent that a policeman is not seen more than once a day and seldom at night. It is further recommended that more Negro policemen be assigned to duty in this section.

*Recreation***

1. The eight public recreational centers, two of which are open the whole year, are totally inadequate to meet the needs of the Hill District.
2. The private agencies working in this field are the Y. W. C. A., the Y. M. C. A., and the Soho Community House. The Y. W. C. A. is handicapped because it lacks any recreational facilities. The Y. M. C. A., while permitting the use of its gymnasium to outside teams, reaches only a small portion of the Negro boys who are not contacted by some other agency. The Soho Community House's approach is handicapped in the development of its program among Negroes because of its distance from the center of Negro population in the Hill District.

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* Two members of the Committee question the validity of the conclusions in item 5. In many cases persons arrested after court has adjourned, are discharged the next morning, many arrested for drunkenness are discharged. Negroes, rightly or wrongly, are suspected of participation in hold-ups and then discharged for lack of evidence. But more than this, many Negroes, out of work and penniless, ask to be sent to the Allegheny County Work House for the winter. They must be technically arrested before the magistrate can comply. One committee member's opinion is that there would be a great reduction in the number of apparent arrests if there were more employment.

** Since the Recommendations were written there has been some progress. The Center Avenue Y. M. C. A. operated a boys' camp. The Urban League has been offered possible camp sites. A boys' club has been established in the Hill District supported by the Newsboys Home Association, the program to be supervised by the Center Avenue Y. M. C. A.

3. The possibilities for the development of a more adequate leisure time program are manifold. The development of a broader recreational program by the established private institutions is greatly urged. The activity of the Y. M. C. A. in establishing a Church athletic league is a step in this direction. Programs should be formulated, however, to include the under-privileged Negro boy. The Y. W. C. A. would meet a most urgent need for recreation among Negro girls by developing a physical education program. The money expended in adding a gymnasium to the plant would enhance the value of that institution to the community.

4. While Washington Park Center may meet the needs of the residents in the Third and lower Fifth Wards, there is a great need for the development of an all-year public recreation center nearer the center of the two wards. The change in population and in environment has handicapped the full development of the center's activities. It is recommended that the Bureau of Recreation seriously consider the erection of an all-year center including an indoor pool that would be more accessible to more people in the District. As an immediate remedy, provisions should be made for the use of school buildings in the Hill District as indoor centers. The present program provides such a center at Letsche School only. The cooperation of the Bureau of Recreation, the Board of Education and private agencies in developing this program would be a distinct improvement in an area where the inadequacies of recreational facilities are so outstanding.*

5. Because of the aforementioned possibilities, the establishment of another community house in the Hill District is not recommended. It is believed that with increased public facilities for recreation, and an enlargement of the existing private facilities, a more unified approach to the recreation problem will be had. The addition of a gymnasium to the physical plant of Ebenezer Church will meet a part of the need. It is recommended that the Irene Kaufmann Settlement consider the possibility of broadening its activities so that it would have physical recreational provisions for Negro children in its immediate environment.*

---

* On two of the Recommendations, 4 and 5, members of the Committee differ. On the first, a committee member believes that instead of a new all-year public or private recreation center there should be first a development of existing public facilities, as at the Letsche, the Watt and the New Connelly Trade Schools as well as development of existing private Negro facilities. The Ebenezer Church has facilities for a gymnasium and pool. Negro churches could help if they were to add recreation and social programs.

This Committee member believes, however, that there should be a settlement house, non-sectarian, staffed entirely by Negroes, to carry on personal service and probably some health activities.

A second Committee member takes issue with item 5, "another Community house . . . is not recommended." She believes the need for a community house still exists. Even if all the facilities desired by Mr. Reid were secured, there still remains unprovided for:

1. Those groups who are not interested in the Church, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. or an all-year public recreation center.

2. Recreational needs that can not be summed up under supervised recreation and definite activities. A supplement to the home is desirable.

In her opinion there is definite need for a neighborhood house where there can be activities for groups; where, due to inadequate home conditions, as shown by the survey, boys and girls can meet for conversation and "dates"; where women can meet for cooking, sewing and a general good time such as the Soho Community House provides.

6. There is a serious lack of summer camping facilities for Negroes. As this matter is being given some attention by local agencies provisions for this need appear possible in the near future.*
7. The practices of segregation and discrimination which are carried on in some of the private, commercial and public institutions of the city should be discontinued.

The Public Schools

1. The physical conditions of the average Hill District school are below the average of those for the city—Watt, McKelvey, and Herron Hill Junior High being exceptions. On the basis of the recommendations made in the study under the auspices of the Board of Education, it should be the will of the community that these unsatisfactory conditions be ameliorated as quickly as possible.**
2. The visiting teacher employed by the Urban League is meeting a great social need. The work is of value to the school, the parent and the child. This work should be taken over by the school authorities.
3. Persons of Negro descent should be eligible as teachers in the public schools of the city. Of the ten largest cities in the country, Pittsburgh stands out as the only one not employing Negro teachers. While it is the will of the Negro community that this be done, it is not the community's desire to have segregated schools for the purpose. There is no doubt that the experiment may be initiated in any school where ten per cent or more of the school enrollment is Negro.***
4. Trade training for Negroes is always a complex problem. While the present opportunities for Negro mechanics are restricted, it is not to be supposed that they always will be. The fact that there is not one occupation in the building and mechanical trades where a Negro is not employed in Pittsburgh, despite exclusions and regulations by certain trade unions, is indicative of the fact that there are opportunities even if in non-union fields. The securing of apprenticeships for Negro pupils is not an easy task, but that

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* See footnote ** p. 14.

** The first Recommendation seems in process of being carried out. The school population of the Hill District, especially in the section nearest the heart of the city is decreasing. So the oldest and poorest buildings are being abandoned, as the Grant School has been, and the children transferred to the better buildings. The school population of the Moorhead school, farther up the hill, is being transferred to the McKelvey and Miller schools, both of which are fireproof. The Herron Hill Junior High School, opened in 1926, took the seventh and eighth grade pupils from neighboring grade schools.

*** The Recommendation that "Persons of Negro descent should be eligible as teachers in the public schools of the city" caused emphatic differences of opinion. The comments of committee members fill several typewritten pages. Assertions are met by counter assertions. The substance of the discussion is fairly summed up in the following paragraphs by a member of the committee:

"Men act, not on facts, but on their attitude toward those facts. The group under study in this report feel keenly that they are discriminated against in what work they do, where they live, when they play, and when they are ill. This attitude is a factor that every agency and individual working with the group must take into consideration at every point if any attempt is made to actually work out the recommendations.

"I believe that the racial factor is the essential problem and that Mr. Reid has done a service by keeping it constantly before us. It is a real challenge which he has presented and one we should squarely face."

should not prevent the enrollment of Negro pupils for the trade courses in which such pupils show interest and proclivities.*

Negro Churches

1. The Church continues as the most outstanding institution among the Negro population. Though its emphasis in the Hill District has been chiefly on things spiritual a few of the churches have launched social programs that should be of greater service in the near future. Although faced with great financial problems it is recommended that more of the larger churches consider a unified social program in their neighborhoods.
2. The spurious growth of "store front" churches and irresponsible religious organizations is of dubious value. Because those churches lack ability and discipline, because their leaders usually lack the educational equipment necessary to lead and because the churches tend to make inroads on the well directed and ably led church organizations, those institutions are undesirable. This is a problem to be handled by an organization of the churches and should be undertaken by such ministers as would feel the necessity of a cooperative venture in social control.

Social Agencies of the Community

1. The adequate interpretation of the facts rendered in the Tyson report on institutions for dependent Negro children, were substantiated in this study. Despite the fact that a readjustment of programs would be necessary, the ultimate social value of the institutions, that with which their workers and boards are most concerned, would be greatly increased.
2. There is need for greater cooperation among the Negro social organizations of the District. Despite the organization of Negro social workers in the city and a general cooperation in local ventures, there is not an organized approach to the problems of Negroes in the Hill District.
3. It is recommended that the Urban League continue, but to a greater degree and more definite purpose, its neighborhood organization and that the organization undertake the essential work outlined on Day Nurseries and Industry outlined in other sections of this report. Though the organization's work is for the whole of Pittsburgh, it might find a more central location in the mid-Hill.**
4. It is recommended that the Centre Avenue Y. W. C. A. immediately concern itself with the problem of securing more adequate recreational facilities for the Negro girl.***
5. The Centre Avenue Y. M. C. A. has a plant that should offer social and recreational opportunities to a larger number of Negro men and boys. A more adequate personnel would make this possible.**

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* A Committee member, commenting upon the recommendation on trade training for Negroes, says that there is encouraging progress. The school authorities, after conference with representatives of the Urban League, agreed to accept Negro pupils in all the trades. Co-operation between the League and the trade schools in the placement of the Negro graduates was agreed upon, and the vocational school officials promised to put in their budget an item for the employment of a vocational counsellor-at-large to deal with the special problems of the Negro youth.

** See footnote following page.

*** One Committee comment supplements Mr. Reid's recommendations. It is, that there be established a Room Registry, perhaps by the Center Avenue Branches of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A.

6. There is an obvious need for social-minded young Negroes to assist as volunteer workers and as part time workers in the many social ventures in this district. The need for trained Negro social workers in Pittsburgh might begin being met by such an organization.
7. Any attempt at segregation usually meets with the avowed disapproval of the Negro group, especially when the inauguration of such a policy takes from the group certain privileges heretofore enjoyed. Organizations interested in promoting their activities among Negroes should avoid any intimation of segregation or discrimination.
8. The problem of financial support for Negro organizations is a major one. It would be deemed unwise to start any new major venture for Negroes unless adequate provision were made for its maintenance.
9. Negroes should be encouraged more and more to support their own institutions. While only a small fraction of the group lives above a marginal existence, that fraction is not so cooperative as it might be. The development of a social consciousness among the Negro population is a most essential step toward social improvement.

Day Nurseries

1. The percentage of working mothers with children among the Negro population in the Hill District is large.
2. Since the need for day care for children is present in all parts of the District, and convenient to no one particular point, it is apparent that one day nursery will not fill the needs of the whole population. On the other hand, the Soho Day Nursery has accommodations for more children than are now using its facilities. Because of the cost of operating a day nursery, and because of the laws regulating these establishments in Pennsylvania, a day nursery as such is not recommended.*
3. The need for day care, however, cannot be overlooked. It is recommended to the committee that the existing social agencies contacting families in this area particularly the Public Health Nursing Association and the relief giving agencies, be asked to submit names and addresses of homes where the need for day time care is known to exist, and that this information be used as the basis for the establishment of neighborhood homes where children of working mothers in the immediate neighborhood may be left under the care of a mother who does not go out of the home to work. Such homes would be certified as to cleanliness by the Health authorities of the city. The whole work should be super-

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* There is some difference of opinion as to whether the nursery should be of the institutional variety or of the home variety recommended by Mr. Reid.

Two advocates of the institutional day nursery recommend full use of the Soho and Salvation Army Day Nurseries, and after they are filled to capacity, the establishment of another nursery in connection, if possible, with some existing church or institution. If a Negro settlement or community house is established, the operation of a day nursery might be one of its activities. These two Committee members believe that the plan recommended by Mr. Reid "would never work."

In contrast to this another Committee member says of this plan, "The First Day Nursery of Philadelphia, one of the oldest in America, which first tried the plan of giving non-institutional care to the children of working mothers, has been so successful that several other nurseries, including one that receives colored children are following it. Personally I would be greatly opposed to starting another institution for children in this community."

vised by a trained nurse employed by an organization whose program would permit the institution of such a program. At a maximum cost of $3,000.00* annually this work could be carried on. Aside from eliminating the overhead of a day nursery, the plan permits the earning of additional income by mothers who do not leave home. While the plan is not fully developed in this recommendation the skeleton plan suggested is sufficient to permit an elaboration similar to programs conducted in other cities. The Urban League might well consider initiating this program.**

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* Two Committee members believe that the $3,000 mentioned by Mr. Reid is too small a sum for the purpose.

** There is question as to whether the Urban League should be the agency to initiate the work—a representative of the League being among those who raise the question. One of the other commenters concludes, however, "Nevertheless it seems much better that they (the League) should do it than that a new organization be formed."

IV. POPULATION

Pittsburgh, while having about 6% of Pennsylvania's total population living within its territory, has 13% of all the Negroes in the state. The cities of Philadelphia and of Pittsburgh contain slightly more than 20% of the total population, but more than 60% of Pennsylvania's Negro Population.*

Prior to the World War and its period of greater industrial activity, restriction of immigration, and the increase in the demand for unskilled workers, the migration of Negroes from the South to the North was only a mild infiltration. Within the last twelve years, as the northward migration gathered volume, the problems of adjustment of Negroes from the rural South to conditions in Northern Cities have become matters of increasing concern in most industrial centers. Pittsburgh shared these problems with other cities, but did not suffer the impact of an extraordinarily large increase as did other industrial centers. The percentage of increase in selected metropolitan cities during the 1910-20 period is shown in the following table.

TABLE P 1**

Per Cent of Increase in the White and Negro Population 1910-1920

City	White	Negro
Akron, Ohio	196.4	749.3
Buffalo, New York	19.0	154.4
Chicago, Illinois	21.0	148.2
Cleveland, Ohio	38.1	307.8
Detroit, Michigan	107.0	611.3
New York, N. Y.	16.9	66.3
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	15.4	58.9
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	8.3	47.2
Youngstown, Ohio	62.9	244.1

The growth of the Negro population has been due in a large measure to emigration from the South. In 1925, the Negro Survey of Pennsylvania estimated the Negro population of Pittsburgh at 45,106. Between 1920 and 1925 a constant migration from southern states served to increase the growth. Since that period there are evidences of no more than a normal amount of migration and growth, the importation of workers during industrial crises in Pittsburgh, notwithstanding.

Since the taking of the last census, however, there has occurred possibly the greatest mass movement of Negroes in history, the migration of 1922-23. As to the number of these migrants who made their homes in Pittsburgh, figures are unavailable. However, in 1916, nineteen of the basic industries employed 2,275 Negroes or about 6.69% of the total Negro population in the county in 1910; but at the peak of production in August, 1923 the number of these workers had increased to 33% of the total Negro population on the basis of the 1920 Census. Moreover, Monroe N. Work estimated that 88,273 Negroes were living in the Pittsburgh district during 1922-23. The 1925 estimate, however, is conservative. On the basis of the increase shown in that study, the Negro population of Pittsburgh for 1929 is 51,118. The population figures as given by the Pittsburgh

* 1920 Federal Census.
** An abstract of page 111 of the 1920 Federal Census.

Health Department for 1928 gives Pittsburgh, 52,422 Negroes in a total population of 673,800 or 7.7%. Approximately three-fourths of the Negroes in Allegheny County live in Pittsburgh and more than 53% of these are males.*

Between 1900 and 1910 the Negro population started its movement into the Third and Fifth Wards. In 1900, there were only 260 Negroes in these two wards; in 1910, there were 10,754. In percentage figures 1.2% of the Negro population lived in these wards in 1920 as against 41.9% in 1910. In 1920, 42.8% of all the Negroes in Pittsburgh were living in these wards. The accompanying table gives complete data.

TABLE P 2

Total Population, Negro Population and Per Cent Negro Population in Pittsburgh 1850-1920

Year	Total Population	NEGROES	
		Number	Percent
1850	46,601	1,959	4.2
1860	49,221	1,154	2.3
1870	86,076	2,115	2.4
1880	156,389	4,077	2.6
1890	343,904	10,357	3.0
1900	451,512	20,355	4.5
1910	533,905	25,623	4.7
1920	588,343	37,725	6.4

The Census figures of Pittsburgh's population are available for eight decades, and for this table include the population of Allegheny—now Pittsburgh, North Side—from 1890 through 1920.

The percentage of Negroes in the population has increased as the accompanying charts pp. 22, 23, reveal. During the 1860-1900 period, the percentage was fairly constant, but an acceleration was noted during the period 1900-1920. The increase in absolute numbers was quite noticeable and gave rise to fabulous estimations of the size of the Negro Population.

TABLE P 3

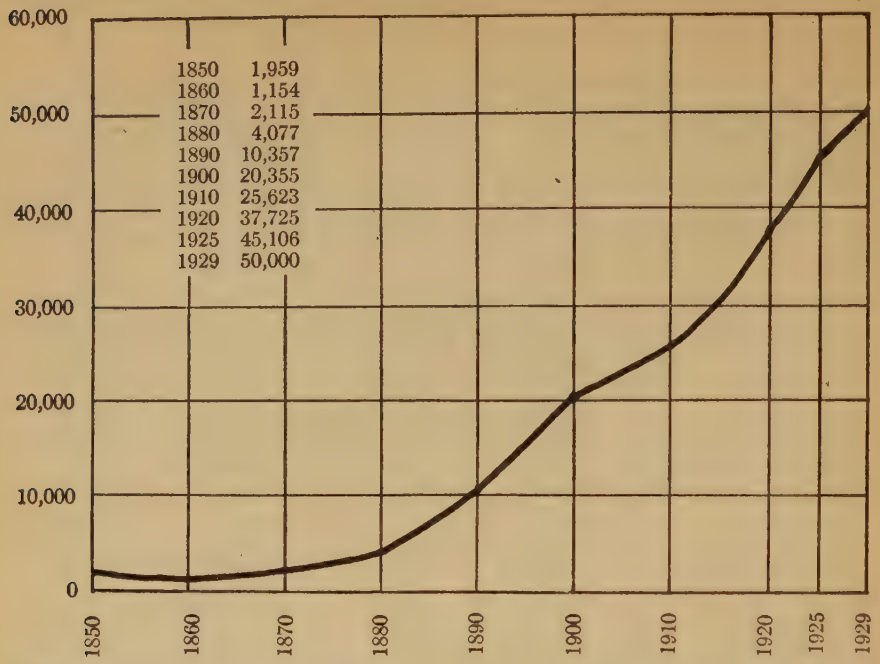
Negroes in the Population of Pittsburgh
The Third Ward and the Fifth Ward
1890-1920**

	1890	1900	1910	1920
Total Population				
Pittsburgh	343,904	451,512	533,905	588,343
3rd Ward	2,090	1,369	26,462	26,858
5th Ward	5,131	4,176	24,495	29,283
Negro Population				
Pittsburgh	10,357	20,355	25,623	37,725
3rd Ward	88	49	4,608	5,782
5th Ward	208	211	6,146	10,383
Percent Negro in Population				
Pittsburgh	3.0	4.5	4.79	6.41
3rd Ward	4.2	3.5	17.4	21.5
5th Ward	4.0	5.04	25.09	35.4

* In 1910, among the Negro population there were 108.8 males to 100 females. In 1920, there were 111.8 males to each 100 females.

** Statistics from Federal Censuses for 1890, 1900, 1910, and 1920.

GROWTH OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF PITTSBURGH 1850-1929*



The Bell Telephone engineers give the following estimate for total population in these two wards:

	Third Ward	Fifth Ward
1922	27,000	28,300
1930	27,200	29,900
1945	28,500	31,200

The Health Department estimates of the total population for 1927 are:

Third Ward	28,369
Fifth Ward	31,038

The estimated mid-year population of Pittsburgh for 1928 is 673,800.

The following compilation of the Federal Census of 1920 gives in detail the population composition of the two wards.**

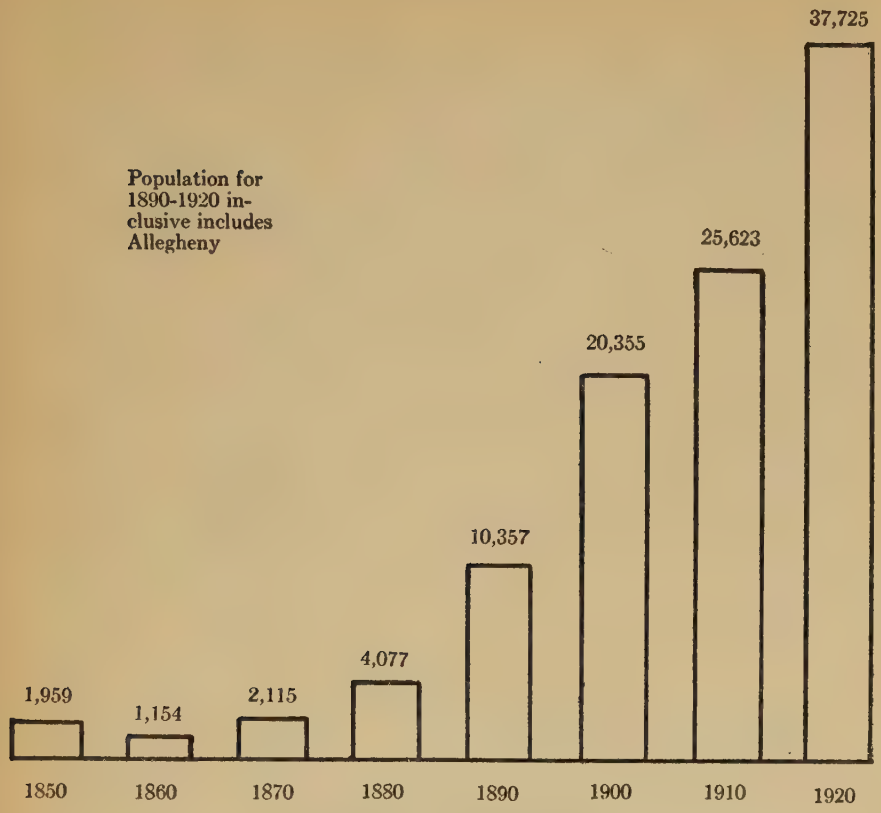
THIRD WARD POPULATION

	1910	1920
TOTAL POPULATION	26,462	26,858
Male	14,065	14,519
Female	12,397	12,339
NATIVE WHITE	10,589	11,291
Male	.....	5,728
Female	.....	5,563
FOREIGN BORN WHITE	11,251	9,775
Male	.....	5,451
Female	.....	4,324
NEGRO	4,608	5,782
Male	.....	3,330
Female	.....	2,452
OTHER	14	10

* From 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th Censuses (1850-1920). Estimate for 1925 from "Negro Survey of Pennsylvania". 1929 estimate derived from average increase 1920-1925.

** Many of the figures for 1910 cannot be given as the Federal Census for that year was not so detailed as that of 1920.

Number of Negroes in the Population of Pittsburgh at each Census 1850-1920*



SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

	1910	1920
Total under 7 years of age	.....	3,946
Total 7 to 13 inclusive	.....	3,691
Total attending school	.....	3,571
Total 14 to 15 years	.....	890
Total attending school	.....	780
Total 16 and 17 years	.....	968
Total attending school	.....	461
Total 18 to 20 years inclusive	.....	1,467
Total attending school	.....	212
Total 6 to 20	7,687	.....
Total attending school	4,589	.....

VOTING AGE

	1910	1920
Males 21 years and over	8,334	8,965
Negro	2,096	2,665
Females 21 years and over	.....	6,931
Negro	.....	.....
Males 18 to 44 inclusive	.....	7,093
Females 18 to 44 inclusive	.....	5,817

* From Federal Censuses (1850-1920).

ILLITERACY		
Total 10 years of age and over	20,770	21,379
Illiterate	1,823	1,848
Negroes 10 years of age and over	.....	5,217
Illiterate	.....	279
Illiterate males 21 years and over	.....	648
Negro illiterate males 21 years and over	.....	170
Illiterate females 21 years and over	.....	1,007
Negro illiterate females 21 years and over	.....	98
DWELLINGS AND FAMILIES		
Dwellings	3,529	3,405
Families	5,196	5,506

Fifth Ward

POPULATION

	1910	1920
TOTAL POPULATION	24,495	29,283
Male	12,211	14,761
Female	12,284	14,522
NATIVE WHITE	12,874	13,041
Male	.....	6,376
Female	.....	6,665
FOREIGN BORN WHITE	5,470	5,849
Male	.....	2,963
Female	.....	2,886
NEGRO	6,146	10,383
Male	.....	5,415
Female	.....	4,968
OTHER	5	10

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

	1910	1920
Total under 7 years of age	.....	4,037
Total 7 to 13 inclusive	.....	3,693
Total attending school	.....	3,430
Total 14 and 15 years	.....	963
Total attending school	.....	859
Total 16 and 17 years	.....	1,018
Total attending school	.....	425
Total 18 to 20 years inclusive	.....	1,530
Total attending school	.....	173
Total 6 to 20 years inclusive	7,142	.....
Total attending school	4,349	.....

VOTING AGE

	1910	1920
Males 21 years and over	7,156	9,298
Negro	2,097	3,874
Females 21 years and over	.....	8,744
Negro	.....	3,317
Males 18 to 44, inclusive	.....	7,266
Females 18 to 44, inclusive	.....	7,049

ILLITERACY

Total 10 years of age and over	19,465	23,645
Illiterate	802	1,072
Negroes 10 years of age and over	.....	8,829
Illiterate	.....	411
Illiterate males 21 years and over	262	450
Negro illiterate males 21 years and over	.....	204
Illiterate females 21 years and over	.....	606
Negro illiterate females 21 years and over	.....	200

DWELLINGS AND FAMILIES

Dwellings	4,160	4,541
Families	5,312	6,676

From this data the following deductions are possible:

1. The percentage of children attending school between the ages of 7 and 13 is higher for the Third Ward (96.4%) than for the city (94.6%), but it is lower in the Fifth Ward, (92.8%).
2. The percentages of children between the ages of 14 and 17 are similar for the three groups.
3. The Fifth Ward has the smallest percentage of persons 18 to 20 years of age attending school—11.3. The percent for the Third Ward is 14.4 and for the city 12.7.
4. The average number of persons per dwelling in Pittsburgh in 1920 was 6.2, for the Third Ward, 8.1, and for the Fifth Ward, 6.4. (In 1890, the number of persons per dwelling in the Fifth Ward was 7.79).
5. More than 12% of the foreign born population of the city dwell in these two wards which represent only 9.5% of the total population.
6. In these wards are found apart from 42.8% of all Negroes the following percentages for other racial and nationality groups in the entire city:*

		Total Number in City
Italian	13.1	15,371
Russian	50.9	13,837
Syrian	83.5	706
Rumanian	75.1	1,493
Polish	8.5	15,537
Greek	13.0	1,363**

The Third Ward is bounded, approximately, by Bigelow Boulevard, Ridgeway Street and Arcena Street on the north, by Wistar Way, Whiteside Road, Bedford Avenue, Devilliers Street and Jumonville Street on the east, by Fifth Avenue on the South, and by Chatham Street, Wylie Avenue and Washington Street on the West. It is one of the oldest and smallest wards in the city. While not so hilly as the Fifth Ward, it has suffered because of business encroachments and a constant deterioration of its building. Between 1920 and 1925 only 25 building permits were issued for the ward. There are 216.7 acres in this ward. It has no public park.

The Fifth Ward is bounded on the north by Arcena Street, Kirkpatrick Street, Bigelow Boulevard, Humboldt Street, and Ridgeway Street as far as Bloomfield Bridge, on the east approximately by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Center Avenue at Neville Street, on the south by Center Avenue, Allequippa Street, Whiteridge and Wyandotte Streets to Fifth Avenue, and on the west by Devilliers Street, Bedford Avenue, and, approximately Wistar Way and Whiteside Road. The Fifth Ward, the larger of the two wards, is hilly in its topography and capable of becoming as undesirable for residential purposes near its western extremity as is the Third Ward. Despite the recent improvements the ward has numerous unpaved streets, streets difficult of access, blind streets that are literal

* "Although small, there is a German group on the Hill. Holy Trinity, a German Parochial School, has an enrollment of 121."—Enid Boli.

**Adapted from Table 13, P.900, Vol. III, 1920 Federal Census.

alleys and many other undesirable features. Much of the "hump" in the Fifth Ward is yet to be removed. The ward has a total of 710.3 acres or 1.1098 square miles. Herron Hill Park with 13 acres is the one public park in the ward.

The Citizens Committee on City Plan of Pittsburgh reported in 1923 that "the average density of population in portions of the very congested Hill district exceeds 46 families or 230 persons per net acre."

In 1910, the negro population of the Third Ward was 4,608 as compared to 5,782 in 1920, an increase of 25 per cent. The Fifth Ward in 1910 had a Negro population of 6,146 as compared to 10,383 in 1920. This was an increase of 69 percent.*

Foreign Peoples

Though the list of foreign groups living in the Third and Fifth Wards is a heterogeneous one, there are two groups that are more outstanding than the others, the Jewish and the Italian.

Information regarding the Jewish population of Pittsburgh particularly in the Hill District was obtained from the Hebrew Institute of Pittsburgh through its director, Mr. Israel A. Abrams. Biennially the school census is taken of the Jewish population. According to this census, there were in the elementary schools in the Hill District in 1924, 4,119 Jewish children. In 1928, the total number was 2,796, a decrease of 32.1 per cent. For the city of Pittsburgh there were 9,460 Jewish children in all public school classes in 1924, but 9,211 in 1928. All evidence indicates that the Jewish population of the Hill District has decreased since 1920.

The Third Ward constitutes the second largest residential area for the Italian group in Pittsburgh. Of the 5,894 Italians in the Third Ward in 1920, 1,842 were foreign born, while 4,052 were of foreign stock. In the Fifth Ward there were 184 Italians and 404 of foreign stock.

In his study of Italian migration, the Rev. Salvatore Migliore** reports that Italians are moving to other parts of the city (away from the Third and Fifth Wards) because of the population pressure by other racial groups. The 216 households covered in the study had a total of 1079 persons of whom 505 were male and 574 were female. One hundred and thirty-eight of these persons had come to Pittsburgh since the year 1920. Many of them admitted that they came during the period of the migration hoping for better opportunities.

The former place of residence of these persons is given herewith.

Alabama	17	Missouri	2
Arkansas	1	New Jersey	2
Colorado	1	New York	2
District of Columbia..	6	North Carolina	11
Florida	5	Ohio	15
Georgia	14	Pennsylvania	18
Illinois	1	South Carolina	9
Indiana	2	Texas	2
Kentucky	3	Virginia	13
Louisiana	1	West Virginia	1
Maryland	5	British West Indies....	1
Michigan	2		
Mississippi	4		138

*Adapted from the 1910 and the 1920 Federal Censuses, "Composition and characteristics of the Population by Wards (Pittsburgh)."

** "Half a Century of Italian Migration in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County," Rev. Salvatore Migliore, M. A. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1928.

V. ENVIRONMENT AND HOUSING

"Or climb the Hill above the Union Station in Pittsburgh. The streets are ill-kept, dirty. The houses are dilapidated. Some of them even abandoned. Many of them are built of wood. Throngs of unemployed Negro workers stand gossiping at the principal corners. The whole community bespeaks poverty, neglect and physical hardship."

Black America.*

Housing conditions for the Negro population in America usually have been the most intolerable that could be found. In urban centers the Negro is usually concentrated in one or a few neglected districts to which relatively cheap rents have proved an inducement. The buildings are generally old and frequently dilapidated and health regulations are not enforced.**

The polyglot of races in the Hill district is certain to give to various sections individual characteristics. At the same time, the type of people in a neighborhood is influenced by the social and physical environments therein. The environment and the people are constantly changing. Their present standards are being influenced constantly by things of the past which are imposed upon them. Slums grow up which are inhabited by any number of the poorer peoples who not only are unable to protect themselves from associations with the derelict and the vicious, but also are unable to move because of higher rents required in better neighborhoods. Nevertheless many inhabitants have sought to justify their living in these neighborhoods. Two points of view—the objective one of the investigator and the subjective one of the tenant are presented for comparison. The investigator's report follows:

1. Hazel Street from Townsend to Elm
   Elm Street from Hazel to Clark
   Clark Street from Elm to Logan
   Colwell Street from Clark to Townsend
   Shomin Street from Hazel to Clark
   Townsend Street from Colwell to Hazel

The above mentioned neighborhood is a small area near the business district of the city, on the western extreme of the Third Ward. It has been called one of the most notoriously disreputable in the city. The streets are narrow and the houses are built very close to each other. There are no new houses, and most of the houses appear very old. For the most part, the houses are dilapidated, and not kept clean. The streets are littered with refuse such as garbage and rubbish. The greatest number of Jewish markets in any one section of the city are here. The racial groups most predominant are Negroes and Jews respectively. There are some Syrians and Italians. There are several Jewish synagogues in the neighborhood. The oldest Negro Church in Pittsburgh, Bethel A. M. E., is on the corner of Wylie and Elm. In the neighborhood are several "store front" churches. Frequently the district is visited by street corner evangelists. The Negroes of the neighborhood are not a church-going sort.

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* "Black America", Scott Nearing, 1929. Popular book on race problems in the United States.

** "The American Race Problem", E. R. Reuter.

Most of the houses are rooming houses. One finds few houses in which there lives but one family. Frequently, one finds a separate family (man and wife or man, wife and children) in each room of a house. The Investigator has found that frequently man and woman are not legally married. The district is infested with bootleg places and bawdy houses. Often white and colored live in the same house. The investigator spent most of a week in the neighborhood but the people were afraid to discuss themselves with her.*

2. Shafer Street
   Kirkpatrick Street from Ridgeway to Bedford
   Ridgeway Street from Shafer to Kirkpatrick
   Moore Street
   Whiteside Road

These streets are near the northern boundary of the Third Ward, high on the hilltop above Bigelow Boulevard. Only Kirkpatrick Street is paved. There is an occasional sidewalk here and there. Moore and Ridgeway Streets are altogether unpaved. Whiteside Road is paved in parts. Shafer Street has a boardwalk in some places. Macedonia Baptist Church is on the corner of Shafer Street and Bedford Avenue. Many of the women work to help pay family expenses. A large number of the families have migrated here from the South. There are some undesirable people in the neighborhood, but they usually keep to themselves. The people feel the need for more community life among Negroes.

3. 2900 Block—Orbin Street

This block extends from Wandless Street to the rear of Herron Avenue. It is unpaved. Until the past week several of the houses were not wired for electricity, and had outside toilets. Now that the toilets are inside, the condition is scarcely improved. They have been put in cupboards, in front rooms, and drain into sewers at the entrance to the Houses.**

4. Colmar and Harry Streets

These streets are on the eastern slope of the last hill in the Hill District. They are just within the eastern boundary of the Fifth Ward, in a truly out-of-the-way community. It can be reached from the Penn Avenue, Liberty Avenue, and Center Avenue street car lines, but one has to walk a long distance from any of the lines. It can also be reached from the Bigelow Boulevard bus lines, but the neighbors say the price—25c from downtown is prohibitive. Both of these streets are unpaved but there are boardwalks. The neighborhood is mixed white and colored, and colored people were seen visiting in white homes. The schools to which the children go

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* The Superintendent of the Bureau of Sanitation reports that:

"At times there may be an accumulation of street sweepings, papers and commercial rubbish—not garbage, due to the fact that there are many small stores in connection with living quarters, not having sufficient space to take care of refuse, as all ground available is taken up by buildings—also, a very large business is transacted on the sidewalks and streets. Commercial rubbish is scattered by the four winds. The garbage and rubbish collectors are in this district every day and collect the household rubbish and all garbage accessible for collection. The Division of Highways and Sewers cleans the streets regularly."

** From the report of an official plumbing inspector made March 17, 1930, the Superintendent of the Bureau of Sanitation quotes as follows:

"The water closets installed on the second and third floors are in a sanitary condition. The sinks in the above premises are properly trapped and vented. The tenants say they have had no trouble with plumbing fixtures since they were installed. All plumbing work in the above houses is in a sanitary condition and according to the plumbing laws. The living conditions are sanitary."

are Madison elementary, Herron Hill Junior High, and Schenley High. Many of the colored people own their homes.

5. Somers Street from Webster to Wylie Avenue
   Belinda Street from Wylie to Webster
   Lawson Street from Wylie to Webster
   Ishar Way from Lawson to Somers

Somers, Belinda and Lawson Streets are paved but there are no sidewalks. Ishar Way is not paved at all. Most of the houses are old. Frequently the toilets are outside. On Lawson Street there is a Church of God and Saints of Christ. On Bedford Avenue in this neighborhood, Macedonia Church is located. On Wylie Avenue there are Central Baptist and Monumental Baptist. A little further down Wylie is Ebenezer Baptist. Somers Trade School is in this area. Some of the families have migrated but recently from the South. Most of the people live fairly well, but frequently the woman works outside the home to make this possible. There is a city playground on Bedford Avenue in this neighborhood which is operated during the summer months. The neighbors feel a need for more recreation facilities. Some of the neighbors complain of misconduct in the community but seldom have specific information. There are some Jewish families and white American families in the district, and an occasional foreign family. The rents in the neighborhood are high for the condition of the houses, the neighborhood being for the most part residential. On Lawson Street, there is a three floor tenement with only two baths and toilets in the whole house of fourteen rooms. The house is occupied by three families, their children, and lodgers.

Contrasting the opinion of the investigator are those of persons living in these neighborhoods. Interesting is the comparison of advantages and disadvantages. All in all it appears that the disadvantages far outweigh the advantages and are indicative of the types of adverse social conditions which are discussed in other sections of this report.

Advantages of Living in 2600 Block—Webster Avenue

None (5 replies)
Comfortable and convenient
Nice neighborhood, large house
Street quiet, rent cheap
Good neighborhood for business
Yard, nice neighborhood
Rooms rented easily and profitably
Right on street
Near stores and schools
Near school for children, have large yard, rent is reasonable
Agreeable neighbors.

The replies received by the investigator as to the advantages of living in this section of Webster Avenue are typical of those received throughout the Hill District. No accurate tabulation of the responses of the inhabitants can be given because of the method of investigation, nor can any decisive conclusions be drawn as to the situation throughout the district. However, by far the most frequent reply was that there were no advantages to living in the Hill. The next most frequently given was that the location is convenient to work, to stores, to churches, etc.

Other reasons given infrequently were that the rent is cheap, the neighbors are nice, the place is quiet, the house fairly comfortable, or the inhabitants do not know why they live there.

Disadvantages of Living in Neighborhoods

Cliff Street

Street needs repairs
Too many rough people
People getting bad in neighborhood
High rent
Neighbors and street cars
Wrong associates for their daughters
Too distant from street cars

Monaca Place

In rear
Too many automobiles
Always some kind of trouble
Poor housing conditions
Too much rent for house, bad cellars
Outside toilets, no baths
High rents
In back street
Old house, needs repairs, no conveniences

These streets are fairly typical. The chief objections to the neighborhoods were the bad housing conditions, the rough, noisy, and sometimes, immoral neighbors, the unpaved, muddy streets, and the accumulation of rubbish and garbage in streets and in yards. These replies are listed in the order of their frequency. As in the case of the advantages cited above, no accurate tabulation of the replies can be given due to the method of investigation, nor can any decisive conclusions be drawn as to particular situations.

Realtors and the Hill District

Efforts were made to secure opinions of existing conditions from agents handling properties in the Hill District. The opinions of the presidents of two real estate concerns are significant.

One company, has been interested in the Hill District for 25 years and is doubtful "as to whether or not there are any conditions that need remedying." It is its experience that "a great majority of the people in the Hill District seem to want to live just as they are living." The company, in its time, has had many houses put in good condition. "Very rarely was it appreciated, nor was any effort made whatever to take care of it. We have had numerous cases where we installed bath tubs, only to go up later to find them used as coal bins."

Furthermore, since rentals have come down considerably in this district it has become necessary for this company, as well as others, to put its property in presentable shape. Hence, "there are quite a number of houses and apartments in the Hill District that are being offered at very moderate rentals."

This company knows of no housing problems in the Hill District.

Another company has been rather progressive in its approach to the housing situation in this area. To the president these are outstanding problems.

1. The physical condition of the class of houses in the Hill District.
2. The lack of proper class of sanitary laws.*
3. Lack of care on the part of tenants in the occupancy of the property.

* The Superintendent of the City Bureau of Sanitation holds that "there are sufficient laws but many exits."

Aside from stating the problem he offers the following methods for improvement:

1. Have the owners improve the properties by putting them in a sanitary and habitable condition.
2. Segregate said district so that the white and colored tenants should not live in the same houses nor on the same immediate streets.
3. Educate tenants to protect the properties they live in and to beautify their surroundings.*

For more than twenty years the unsanitary, indecent and inadequate housing of the Hill District has been interpreted to the people of Pittsburgh. The study of William H. Matthews in 1907, the Pittsburgh Survey of 1908**, Wright's study of 1927,** and Hall's work in 1929 have all pointed to the need for intensive work in this direction.

Hall's Study,*** made in the fall and winter of 1928-29, is based on an analysis of 218 families and 227 dwellings in the Hill District. Its findings may be summarized as follows:

1. Negro migrants have moved into the same sections, and often the same houses, occupied by practically all new groups on first coming to Pittsbsurgh.
2. The average size of the Negro family is 4.3 persons.
3. The average number of rooms in Negro dwellings was 3.79.
   The average number of persons per room was 1.05.
   The average number of families per dwelling was 1.13.
4. Of the 227 dwellings studied 21 had outside toilets; 14 had outside water; 153 had baths; 217 had gas; 182 had electric lights, 56 had laundry tubs; and 14 had furnaces.
5. The average weekly earnings of the male heads of families were $27.09. The maximum weekly wage was $68.75—the minimum, $10.00.
6. The average weekly income of the 227 families was $32.02. This amount includes earnings in addition to those of the heads of families. They were augmented as follows:

   By wives' work..... 41 families
   By income from lodgers..... 73 families
   By alimony ..... 1 family

   The median weekly income was $31.00, the minimum, $10.00, and the maximum, $85.00.
7. The average rent per room, per month was $8.93. The range of rents was from a minimum of $11.50 for a two-room dwelling to a maximum of $100.00 for a twelve room dwelling. The median monthly rent was $38.00.
8. These Negro families pay an average of 24.4% of their (total family) income for rent. For the two room dwellings it is 20.8%; three room, 25.8%; four rooms, 29.3%; five rooms, 29%; six rooms, 30.9%.

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* The Superintendent of the City Bureau of Sanitation suggests "that there be inducement to create self-interest to the tenants of rented property. May I suggest that a bonus be paid to the tenant at the end of the year, based on a percentage of the outlay necessary to maintain the premises in sanitary condition."

** See Bibliography.

*** Negro Housing and Rents in the Hill District of Pittsburgh, Wiley A. Hall, M. A. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1929.

Present Investigation

As a check on the data submitted, additional data were secured for 216 of the renting families covered in this study. These findings may be summarized as follows:

1. The total number of families was 216, averaging in size 4.9 persons.
2. The average number of rooms per dwelling was 4.2.
3. There was an average of 1.86 persons per sleeping room.
4. The average rent for all dwellings was $32.76; distributed by rooms the average rentals were as follows:

2 Rooms	$18.77
3 Rooms	25.09
4 Rooms	31.12
5 Rooms	35.84
6 Rooms	44.68
7 Rooms	48.11
8 Rooms	64.00
9 Rooms	79.00

The average rent per room was $7.78. This is lower than Hall's average of $8.93 in 1929, and higher than Wright's average of $7.39 in 1927.

5. Thirty-five per cent of the families had lodgers. These lodgers paid an average weekly rent of $4.21.
6. Fifty-two per cent of the families had children under 16 years of age.
7. The average number of children per family unit having children was 2.59.
8. The average number of children per total family units was 1.35.
9. The four room house was the predominant size, while 18.7% were of less than 4 rooms and 26.9% more than that number.
10. Conveniences were distributed as follows:

Per cent of families having gas	93.0
Per cent of families having electricity	80.0
Per cent of families having bath	62.7
Per cent of families having hot water	64.3
Per cent of families with toilets in hall and basement	16.5
Per cent of families with toilets in yard	17.4
Per cent of families with toilets in house	66.1
Per cent of families with water supply outside	7.3

11. Of the toilets located within the house 63.1% were used by one family, 28.1% by two families, and 6.1% by three or more families. Of those toilets located without the house 42% were used by one family, 38% by two families, 20% by three or more families.

Rents and Earnings

The average weekly earnings for 194 male heads of families in Pittsburgh during the month June 17 to July 23, 1929 was $27.24. To supplement the income of the male heads 56 mothers were working away from home (21 mothers were heads of families). The average family income for all families for the period was $29.10. In only 23% of the families was the income for one week greater than the monthly rent. In other words 67% of the families paid more than one-fourth of their total monthly income for rent.*

* See sections on Employment and the Family.

TABLE HO 1

Number of Rooms and House Facilities Classified by Rent Per Month

RENT PER MONTH IN DOLLARS	Frequency	TOTAL NUMBER OF ROOMS								HOUSE FACILITIES					
		2	3	4	5	6	7	11	12	WG	WE	WB	THB	TY	WO
TOTAL	230	14	29	125	32	26	2	1	1	16	46	143	38	40	18
Less than $15.00	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	2	1	..
$ 15 and less than $20	5	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5	..	1	3	2
$ 20 and less than $25	19	6	1	12	..	..	..	..	..	11	6	8	..	12	7
$ 25 and less than $30	34	2	12	18	2	..	..	..	..	12	21	9	4	19	7
$ 30 and less than $35	34	..	10	19	1	4	..	..	..	11	7	14	10	5	2
$ 35 and less than $40	31	..	4	17	10	..	..	..	..	..	2	19	13	..	..
$ 40 and less than $45	29	..	..	21	5	3	..	..	..	..	2	25	3	..	..
$ 45 and less than $50	37	..	..	31	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	32	4	..	..
$ 50 and less than $55	9	..	..	3	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..
$ 55 and less than $60	17	..	..	4	4	8	1	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..
$ 60 and less than $70	9	..	..	..	1	7	1	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..
$100	(a) 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	..
Amount Not Specified	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..

148 houses have hot water.

(a) These two large houses are operated as lodging houses.

Legend:

WG—Without gas.
WE—Without electricity.
WB—With bath.
THB—Toilet in hall or basement.
TY—Toilet in yard.
WO—Water supply outside the house.

Through the Pittsburgh Housing Association specific housing studies were made in six of the city blocks hereinafter mentioned. A summary of the findings is given at this point.

Total number of dwellings in blocks studied	298
Total dwellings inspected	265
Total dwellings having violations	55
Total violations	88
Violations:	
Defective toilets	24
Rubbish accumulation	12
Garbage accumulation	4
Living in cellar	5

Following are excerpts from the above mentioned studies:

Crawford Street

"The two blocks east and west of Crawford Street between Wylie Avenue and Center Avenue. The inhabitants of these two blocks are mostly colored. On both sides of Crawford Street there are only three white families. Some of these colored people live only for today with little thought of tomorrow. During this investigation I encountered the most degraded type of Negro, but on the other hand, I also found hard working, law abiding, industrious colored people. To me the most surprising and interesting fact disclosed was the scarcity of children. Those who believe the colored race is dying out, especially in the northern cities to which it has migrated, may be wrong, but these two blocks would certainly tend to confirm this contention. There are in this area a large number of married couples having no children who frankly declare that they do not desire any.

"Work is slack in Pittsburgh at present and the Negro has been hard hit. Of course, a number of the men do not work steadily under any conditions and are quite content to let their wives find day work as a means of support. Most of the men lucky enough to have work are employed as laborers in the mills and building trades.

"The houses on Crawford Street are almost all old brick dwellings, which years ago were first class homes. Age and neglect have told upon them, inside walls and ceilings need replastering, roofs are in poor condition, stairs are rickety, windows and doors warped so that air vents are left around them. Front yards are entirely lacking and rear yards are small and usually very dirty.

"All these buildings have sanitary flush toilets, but a large number of them are outside, particularly so on the west side of the street. At the time of this investigation there were eight defective toilets on the west side of Crawford Street and none on the east. On the west, eleven houses have electricity but none have bath or hot water. On the east, eleven houses have electricity, ten, hot water, and ten, bath tubs. It is very seldom that sanitary violations are found in homes where there are bathrooms, indicating that baths create or accompany higher living standards.

"Disposal of garbage and rubbish in this district presents a considerable problem. The tenants say that the removal wagons are very irregular, and many families particularly on the west side of Crawford Street, do not keep their refuse and garbage in proper receptacles, but throw it into the most convenient spots, expecting the garbage and rubbish men to gather it up for them.*

* The Superintendent of the City Bureau of Sanitation maintains that wagons go into Crawford street every day collecting all available refuse, but that a considerable quantity is not in the proper receptacles.

TABULATED REPORT ON INSPECTIONS

Number dwellings in block studied		75
Number dwellings inspected	70	
Number dwellings not inspected due to vacancy and inaccessibility	5	
Number dwellings having violations		21
Violations:		
Rubbish accumulation	4	
Garbage accumulation	4	
Defective toilet	9	
Cellar living	2	
Water supply in yard	2	
Insufficient toilets	1	
Unsafe ceiling	3	
House damp, wet	2	
Leaky roof	2	
Broken steps	1	
Broken porch	1	
Total violations		31
Abatements to June 1st, 1929		14

Block Bounded by Enoch, Granville, Wylie and Roberts Streets

"Violations of the sanitary code are very few in this block and those few (eleven in number) are confined to a little group of dwellings on Wylie Avenue. Enoch, Granville and Roberts Streets were entirely free of violations. This may be classed as a religious and educational block, for within it are a parochial school, a public school, a synagogue, and St. Brigid's Roman Catholic Church.

TABULATION

Number houses in block		48
Number houses inspected	46	
Number houses not inspected (1 vacant, 1 no access)	2	
Number houses having violations		6
Number violations		11
Outside water supply	4	
Insufficient toilets	1	
Defective toilets	3	
Unsafe ceiling	1	
Wall dangerous	1	
No toilet house roof	1	

Nationality	Number families	Number violations
American	1	0
Irish	5	1
Italian	1	0
Jewish	33	0
Negro	23 (21 of these are on Wylie Ave.)	10
Syrian	1	0

	Number	Violations
Dwellings with baths	33	1
Dwellings without baths	15	10

Roberts Street

"The two blocks east and west of Roberts Street, between Center Avenue on the one side and Wylie and Linton Streets on the other. A recent survey of two blocks in the Hill District, one bounded by Center, Arthur, Wylie and Roberts Streets; the other bounded by Center, Roberts, Linton, and Overhill Streets, disclosed a very small number of housing violations. Conditions here are apparently considerably better than the

average throughout the Hill. Of the sixty-one dwellings inspected, thirty-seven have baths, a high percentage. Of fourteen violations listed only one was found among the thirty-seven houses having baths, the other thirteen violations being charged to the twenty-four houses without baths. These figures may add some weight to the contention that bathrooms create higher living standards.

"In the study of the Crawford Street blocks* it was shown that the population was almost entirely colored. In this later survey of a district quite close to Crawford Street, we find that though the colored inhabitants are in the majority, there are also a considerable number of white families. Overhill Street is entirely white. On Roberts Street nine dwellings have colored inhabitants, eleven house white people, and one dwelling contains both races. Of seventeen dwellings on Arthur Street thirteen have colored inhabitants, three house white people, and one contains both races.

Tabulated Report on Inspections

Number of dwellings in blocks studied		79
Number dwellings inspected	61	
Number dwellings not inspected due to vacancy or inaccessibility	18	
Number dwellings having violations		11
Violations:		
Defective toilet	3	
Cellar living	3	
Rubbish accumulation	6	
Water supply in yard	1	
Defective hydrant	1	
Total violations		14
Abatements to date June 5, 1929		10

Block Bounded by Wylie, Granville, Enoch and Devilliers Streets

"This block is one of the most predominately colored blocks in the Hill District. Colored families outnumber the white by more than three to one. The adjoining block (Enoch, Granville, Roberts, and Wylie) of which a study was made a short time ago, was shown to be inhabited largely by white families, the ratio being almost two to one in favor of the white.

"One of the most interesting facts revealed in this study is the number of vacancies in the block. There are sixteen houses entirely vacant; while in the Enoch, Granville, Roberts and Wylie block there is only one vacant dwelling house."

Tabulation

Number houses in block	96
Number houses inspected	88
Number houses not inspected (vacant or no access)	8
Number vacant apartments	22
Number houses entirely vacant	16
Number colored families	88
Number white families	20
Number houses having violations	17
Number violations	32

		Violations
Number houses with baths	59	2
Number houses without baths	29	30
	88	30

* Revised to July 1, 1929.

Violations:

Unsafe	2
Unsafe walls	1
Unsafe ceilings	1
Defective water closet	9
House vacant and open	3
Rubbish accumulation	2
Water closet opens off kitchen	1
Inadequate ventilation to water closet	1
Water supply in yard	2
Leaky roof	3
Defective plumbing	3
Door gone	1
Water in cellars	3

It is of no small concern to note that the investigations in these blocks disclosed that 20.7% of the houses inspected have one or more violations; also that if the total number of violations were evenly distributed over the houses inspected there would be one violation for every third house.

Illustrative of bad housing conditions in the Hill District are the following taken from reports by the Pittsburgh Housing Association of studies made of "Houses That Should be Demolished or Made Safe."

1. Arcena Street—Roof and rear of house burnt out. Adjoining house occupied.
2. Arthur Street—Damaged by fire in dangerous condition.
3. Arthur Street—Wall out of plumb. Joists rotted. Partly occupied.
4. Bedford Avenue—Defective fire escapes. Occupied.
5. Colwell Street—Brick wall bulging. Occupied.
6. Haydon Way—Leaky roof. Defective toilet. Dilapidated. Occupied.
7. Hillside Street—Unoccupied houses. Open. Rubbish.
8. Kirkpatrick Street—Open. Fire hazard. Tramp harbor.
9. Shafer Street—Old shacks in danger of falling.
10. Soho Street—Steps dangerous. Fire hazard. Vacant.
11. Webster Avenue—Bad plumbing. Floors dangerous. Plaster falling. Occupied.

Thirty "Houses that should be Demolished or Made Safe" in the Hill District have been called to the attention of the Bureau of Building Inspection by the Pittsburgh Housing Association.

The information gathered in Hall's study in 1929 was chiefly from families living in the Fifth Ward—those desiring more satisfactory housing at cheap rentals. Webster Terrace, a development of six-room one-family houses situated on Webster Avenue between Morgan and Wandless Streets, undoubtedly contributed to the higher average rental found in this study.

The general conclusion reached by an analysis of all of these studies points to

1. Higher rent paid by Negroes in the district.
2. Less desirable housing for Negroes in the Hill District than is available for other groups.

It is to be admitted that the general building development of these two wards has been slower than that of other wards of the city. For example, between 1920 and 1925 there were 25 building permits issued in

the Third Ward and 248 in the Fifth Ward. In the Bloomfield-Lawrenceville District 23 permits were issued in the Sixth Ward and 53 in the Ninth Ward during the same period. Shadyside (Ninth Ward) had a total of 102 permits for the period while in Squirrel Hill (Fourteenth Ward) there were 2377 permits issued. However, these figures are misleading in that the Third and Fifth Wards are small, old, and already comparatively closely built up, and while the Fifth Ward has considerable unoccupied space, it is not readily available for building purposes because of steep grades. On the other hand, Squirrel Hill is a comparatively new district that has undergone rapid development during the past twenty years.

The slight development in the Fifth Ward promises to be of importance to Negro tenants. Since 1925 the number of residences built for and by Negroes has exceeded any previous period. Private houses, duplexes and apartments have been added to the meagre supply of satisfactory sites available in the Hill District. Upper Center Avenue, Francis Street, Bedford Avenue, Watt Street, and Webster Avenue are a few of the general locations where these developments are taking place. Though they will affect only a small portion of the population, the erection of these houses is certain to give a greater permanence to a desirable type of family in the community.

One of the most recent ventures in building for colored tenants is the three story apartment building on the corner of Wylie Avenue and Morgan Street by the Mutual Real Estate Investment Company, a small company of Negroes interested in Negro housing conditions in the Hill District. This structure, erected at a cost of $250,000 was available to tenants around May 1, 1929. The apartments, consisting of four rooms and bath, have the following conveniences—steel porch, electric refrigeration, in-a-door bed, built in bath tubs, gas stoves, and laundry. While the rent is higher than the market rent for other two, three, and four room suites, the conveniences are greater than those previously obtainable.

It is estimated that less than 4% of the Negroes living in the Hill District own their own homes. While the number is higher than ten years ago, the rapid influx of newer groups has not increased the percentage of home owners. The majority of Negro home owners in these wards are the older residents who have not desired to move to other sections of the city where Negro home owners are locating, particularly East End, Homewood, and Beltzhoover.*

In 1920, the Home Finders League was organized for the—"acquirement of homes for Negroes in Pittsburgh." During the first year of its existence $300,000 worth of property was purchased. A number of houses were opened to Negro families as a result of this venture. After five years, the organization's activities were ended because of the closing of the Steel City Bank, with which it was closely affiliated.

The 1925 survey** estimated that 11 per cent of the Negroes in Pittsburgh own their homes. In the Steel Mill district surrounding the city 31% of the Negro homes are owned. The report states "This high percentage is due to the fact that with the exception of the homes opened to Negroes by industrial concerns, it was difficult for Negroes to obtain homes unless they bought them."

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* Estimate based on list of properties owned by Negroes in the 3rd and 5th wards as compiled by a real estate agency handling Hill property since 1915.

** Negro Survey of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, 1925.

VI. HEALTH

Vital Statistics*

The number of Negro deaths per 1,000 population in Pittsburgh has varied from 2 to 14 points above the number of white deaths per 1,000 population every year since 1910. In 1910 the Negro death rate was 23.4 per 1,000 population, while that of the white population was 17.7; in 1917 when the Negro death rate per 1,000 was 31.8, the white rate was 17.5.

For the decade prior to 1910 the following death rates were available:

Death Rate per 1,000 Population

	Negro	White
1901-1905	31.0	19.5
1906-1910	24.9	17.5

In every year since 1900 the Negro death rate has been higher than that of the white population.

Table H 1

Death Rates by Color for Pittsburgh
1910-1928

Year	Negro	White	Year	Negro	White
1910	23.4	17.7	1920	22.0	13.4
1911	16.1	14.9	1921	20.2	11.7
1912	17.4	15.9	1922	19.1	12.3
1913	19.7	17.1	1923	26.1	13.1
1914	21.6	15.4	1924	28.7	14.5
1915	19.1	15.1	1925	23.7	14.2
1916	24.8	17.0	1926	23.8	12.9
1917	31.8	17.5	1927	18.7	12.0
1918	33.8	26.3	1928	19.5	12.0
1919	20.6	15.8			

While the white death rate has fallen from 17.7 to 12.0 per thousand population since 1910, the Negro death rate shows considerably less improvement. It is now 19.5, or 1.8% higher than the white death rate in 1910.

Table H 2

Vital Statistics—Pittsburgh
1928

	Total	White	Negro
Population	673,800	621,378	52,422
Deaths	8,473	7,459	1,008
Death rate per 1000 population	12.5	12.1	19.2
Infant population under 1 year per CM	148.1	137.3	278.5
Infant mortality per 1,000 births	78	74.1	113.1
Births	12,785	11,503	1,282
Excess of births over deaths	4,312	4,044	274
Per cent Natural Increase	1.9	1.8	2.4

* All the vital statistics presented hereinafter were secured from the Bureau of Vital Statistics, City of Pittsburgh, Pa.

TABLE H 3

Total Deaths from Selected Causes (Stillbirths Excluded) Among Negroes and Whites in Pittsburgh—1928

		Number of Deaths	
		White	Negro
I.	*Epidemic, Endemic, and Infectious Diseases—*		
	Typhoid Fever	14	1
	Measles	39	3
	Scarlet Fever	17	0
	Whooping Cough	26	4
	Diphtheria	63	1
	Influenza	420	32
	Erysipelas	15	1
	Anterior Poleomyolitis	5	1
	Meningoccus Meningitis	24	3
	Pulmonary Tuberculosis	295	71
	Tuberculosis, all other forms	33	15
	Syphilis	29	18
II.	*General Diseases not included above—*		
	Cancer (all forms)	537	36
	Diabetes Mellitus	115	6
	Cerebral Hemorrhage	448	51
III.	*Diseases of the Circulatory System—*		
	Chronic Heart Disease	1,134	120
	Other Diseases of the Heart	175	8
	Diseases of the Arteries	85	8
IV.	*Diseases of the Respiratory System—*		
	Bronchitis	66	4
	Broncho-Pneumonia	411	73
	Lobar Pneumonia	733	168
V.	*Diseases of the Digestive System—*		
	Diarrhea and Enteritis	134	21
	Appendicitis	66	8
	Hernia	44	4
	Cirrhosis of the Liver	62	2
VI.	*Non-Venereal Diseases of the Genito-Urinary System and Annexa—*		
	Acute Nephritis	26	10
	Chronic Nephritis	547	75
VII.	*The Puerperal State—*		
	Accidents of Pregnancy	24	5
	Puerperal Hemorrhage	4	0
	Other Accidents of Childbirth	6	0
	Puerperal Septicemia	18	4
	Other Puerperal Causes	13	3
	Deaths Following Childbirth	1	0
VIII.	*Malformations—*		
	Congenital Malformation	97	3
IX.	*Early Infancy—*		
	Congenital Debility	24	1
	Premature Birth	288	41
X.	*External Causes—*		
	Suicide	64	7
	Accidental Burns	53	7
	Accidental Absorption of Poison Gas	24	4
	Accidental Drowning	17	7
	Accidental Traumatism by Fall	103	6
	Automobile Accident	113	10
	Homicide by Firearms	16	18
	Homicide by Cutting and Piercing	1	2
	Homicide, Other Means	14	2
	All Other External Violence	111	10
XI.	*Ill-Defined Diseases—*		
	Deaths All Other Causes	883	126
	TOTAL	7437	1000

Causes of Death

Pneumonia stands out as the leading cause of death for the white and the Negro populations. This disease (all forms) accounted for 15.4% of the white deaths and 24.1% of the Negro deaths in 1928. For the white population Chronic Heart Disease is a close second to pneumonia, accounting for 14.8% of the white deaths—the disease, however, plays a poor second among the Negro population, as only 12 per cent of the deaths were due to that cause.

Homicides (all means) accounted for 2.1% of the Negro deaths, but for 0.6% of the white deaths. (See chart p. 42.)

Age and Death

The greatest incidence of deaths for the white population occurred in the age periods under one year and 70-79. For the Negro population the periods under one year, and 35-39 were those of greatest incidence:

More than 50 per cent of the Negro deaths (53.2%) occur under forty years of age. For the same age period only 34.1% of the white deaths occur.

Infant Mortality

At no time since 1921 has the number of Negro deaths been higher than the number of births. In 1919 there was an excess of deaths over births of 75, in 1920 it dropped to 20.

The infant mortality rate, however, has been high. An analysis of the statistics is presented in table H 4, p. 43.

The infant death rate among Negroes dropped from 215 per 1000 births in 1918 to 113.1 per 1,000 births in 1928, while the white rate decreased from 136 in 1918 to 74.7 in 1928.

The Third and Fifth Wards

The data for these two wards demonstrate the actual existence of aggravated health problems—in excess of those found for the city as a whole. Comprising 8.9% of the total population the Negro contributed in 1928—

9.8 per cent of the total deaths
13.9 per cent of the deaths from tuberculosis
14.0 per cent of the deaths from pneumonia
19.9 per cent of the deaths from syphilis and gonnorhea
9.2 per cent of the infant deaths

An analysis of the leading causes of death in these wards, and the percentage of deaths occurring therein is shown in the chart on page 46.

In 1926 the Division of Information and Publicity of the Chamber of Commerce compiled vital statistics for wards in Pittsburgh. Deaths from Smallpox, Influenza, Scarlet Fever, Whooping Cough, Typhoid Fever, Infantile Paralysis, Diarrhea, Tuberculosis, Measles and Diphtheria were combined in the general classification of Transmissable Diseases. The Third Ward with a rate of 5.1 per 1,000 inhabitants exceeded all other wards in the number of persons dying from these diseases, while the Fifth Ward rated fifth place with a death rate, in this case, of 4.3.

	Third Ward	Fifth Ward
Population	28,369	31,038
Total deaths—1927	343	424
Death rate per 1000		
1926	13.0	13.0
1927	15.1	13.6
Total deaths under 1 year		
1926	63	45
1927	29	62
Infant death rate		
1927	54.9	97.0

PER CENT OF WHITE AND OF NEGRO DEATHS DUE TO SELECTED CAUSES IN PITTSBURGH
1928

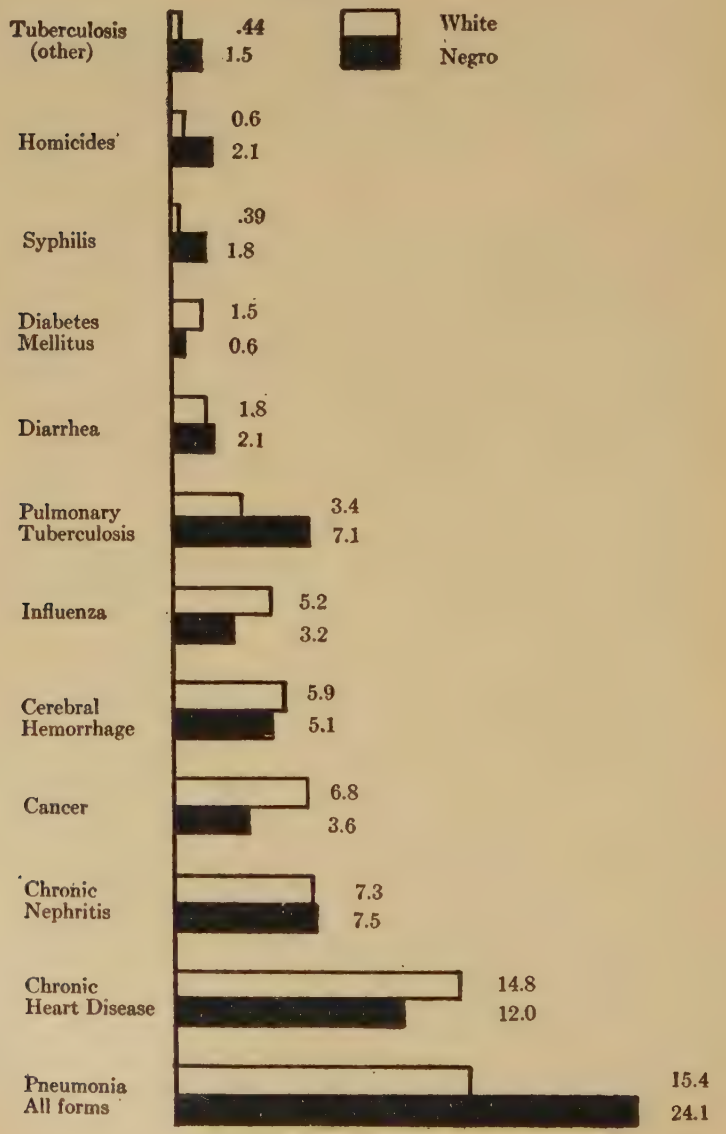


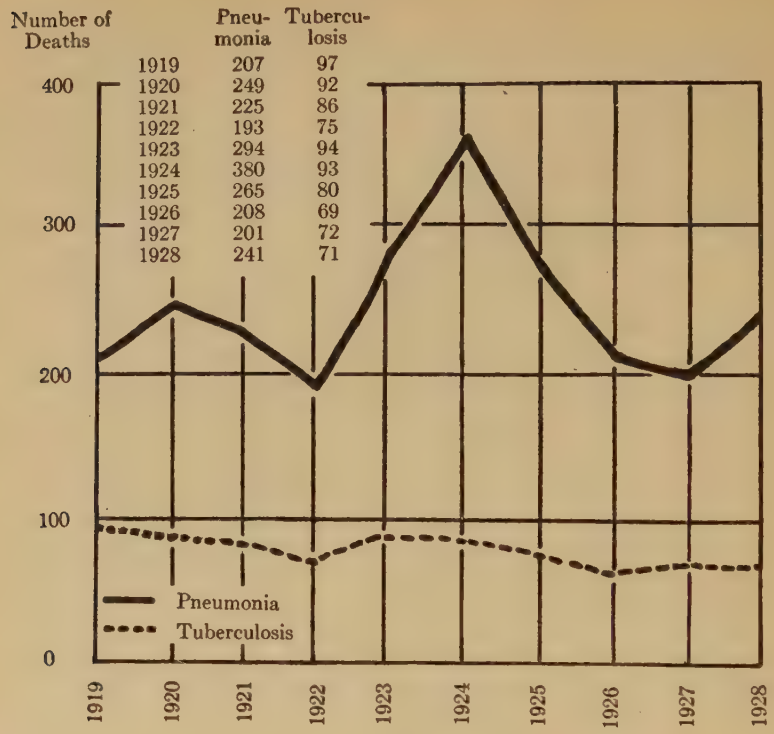
TABLE H 4

Births and Deaths in Pittsburgh by Color

1923-1928

Year	Population	Births	Deaths	Rate per 1,000 Population		Excess Births Over Deaths	Births per 100 Deaths	Infant Deaths	Rate per 1,000 Births	Still Births	Rate per 100 Births
				Births	Deaths						
1923 W	577,717	14,244	8,730	24.6	15.1	5,514	163	1,319	92.6	492	3.5
C	42,650	1,156	1,071	27.1	25.6	85	107.9	190	164.35	86	7.4
1924 W	582,107	14,307	8,461	24.6	14.5	5,846	169	1,231	86.7	499	3.5
C	43,908	1,308	1,259	31.4	25.7	49	103.9	209	159.8	108	8.25
1925 W	586,400	14,294	8,302	24.4	14.2	5,992	172	1,135	79.0	506	3.5
C	45,600	1,421	1,081	31.2	23.7	340	131	145	100.2	90	6.3
1926 W	590,700	11,547	6,618	19.0	11.2	4,929	174	1,070	81.5	489	3.6
C	46,400	1,279	883	28.7	23.8	396	144	164	128.3	84	6.6
1928 W	621,378	11,503	7,459	18.5	12.1	4,044	152	853	74.7	526	4.6
C	52,422	1,282	1,008	24.4	19.0	284	128	145	113.1	89	6.95

MORTALITY FROM PNEUMONIA AND PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS AMONG NEGROES IN PITTSBURGH
1919-1928



HEALTH FACILITIES FOR NEGROES.

HOSPITALS

There are in Pittsburgh, including Bellevue and Wilkinsburg, apart from the Municipal and County charitable institutions, 25 institutions serving the 700,000 people of the community. For these hospitals the average patient day is 4,472.

In an effort to ascertain the relationship of Negro cases to hospitals, interviews were had with representatives of the hospitals hereinafter mentioned. When interviews were impossible, letters and questionnaires were submitted to the executive officers. The following data on the Negro hospital relationship is the result of these methods. Because of the variance in presentation of statistical data a compilation was impossible.

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL. The Montefiore Hospital is maintained by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and has an annual state appropriation of $22,500. Capacity 60. Capacity of new building, 220. Class: General. (Note: This interview was made before the opening of the new Montefiore.) This hospital maintains no separate accommodations for Negroes. Negroes are admitted in various ways—by recommendation of physicians, from the dispensary, etc. There are no Negro doctors on the staff. A study in 1928 showed that approximately 5% of the patients admitted to the hospital were Negroes. The social worker thinks the percentage is

higher now. During the same year 500 persons were refused admission because of lack of facilities, not more than 6% of whom were Negroes. Approximately 95% of Negroes admitted were free patients. The minimum charge is $17.50 per week. Thirty-five to forty percent of the out-patients are colored. There are no recorded data for races. The social worker feels that as a hospital supported mainly by the Jewish community, Montefiore has done more than its share for Negroes. Jewish patients have been turned away just as Negroes have, and Negroes were occupying beds. The opinion was expressed that the hospital would be relieved of some of its obligations to Negroes when it moved into its new quarters outside the Hill District.

MERCY HOSPITAL. The hospital is operated by the Sisters of Mercy. Capacity 670 beds. Regular staff—28 physicians. Cases—general. Provisions for Negroes—one 7 bed ward for women, and 20-25 Negro men may be accommodated. There are very few Negro paying patients. Admissions are made on recommendations of physicians, white and colored. Workmen's Compensation cases are handled here also. The Pittsburgh Coal Company maintains a ward for its employees. Negro men are sent to this ward. There is no discrimination or separation in this ward. The hospital is filled from January to April each year and many must be turned away. The Superintendent maintains that no Negroes are turned away when segregated wards are full, if there is any space at all available. It was also the Superintendent's opinion that there is pressing need for a Negro hospital.

Social Service Department. The social service department reported that the hospital admitted very few colored patients other than industrial accident cases sent by plants because of Workmen's Compensation arrangements. Negroes usually are directed to Passavant Hospital. Tubercular patients are a special problem as they do not want to go to Mayview. Some children are admitted to the hospital. Accommodations in Pittsburgh are better for children than they are for adults, and admission easier to obtain. Dispensary cases average 62 colored a day, most of whom are from the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Wards. The worker knows of no Negroes being admitted to private wards, or of applications for same.* No Negro doctors have hospital privileges. A hospital for Negroes is advocated.

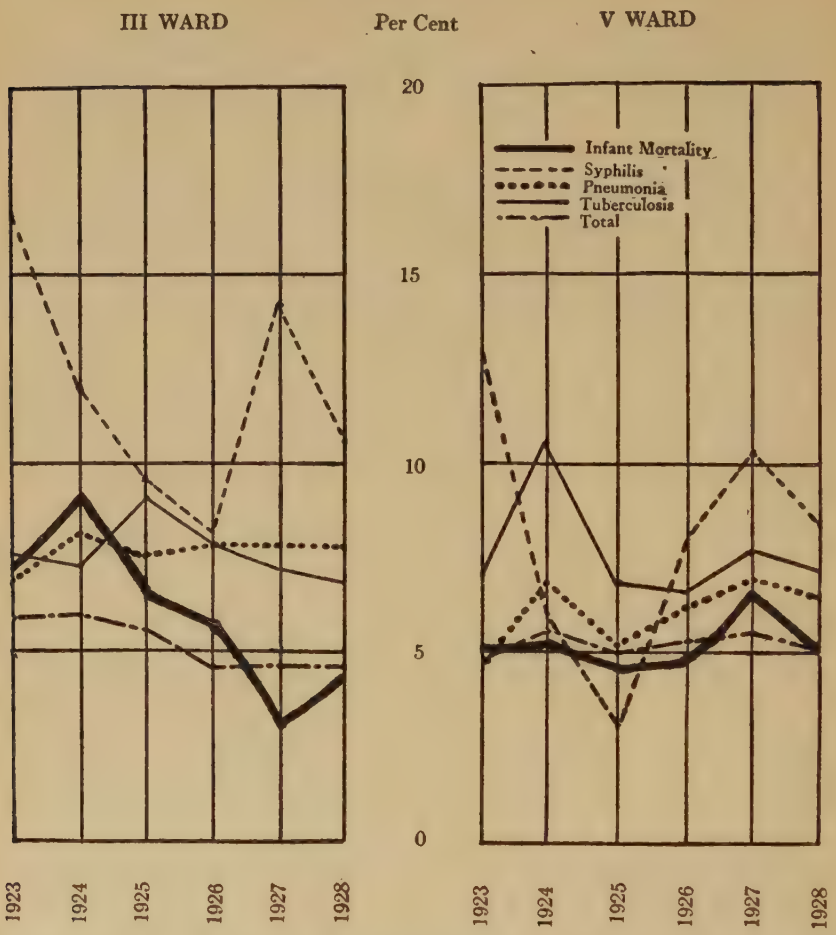
UNITED STATES MARINE HOSPITAL NO. 15. The surgeon in charge of the U. S. Marine Hospital No. 15 reports that there are four Negro patients in the Hospital at this time. The average is from four to five. All patients admitted to this hospital are entitled to treatment under Federal Laws. In other words, although the patient does not pay anything for his treatment, he is receiving something that is due him under the laws of the Federal Government. For that reason they should not be classified as charity patients. There are no private rooms as all patients are placed in wards which vary in the number of beds contained.

PITTSBURGH HOMEOPATHIC HOSPITAL. About 35% of the ward patients in the Pittsburgh Homeopathic Hospital is colored. There has never been a colored patient in a private room. Of the ward patients less than 1% pay their way in full. Five dollars is the average amount ever paid for an operation and several weeks after-care, or for the delivery of a child and the necessary after-care. The majority pay nothing.

* Miss Jeanette Washington, Public Health Nursing Association, knows of a former private ward patient.

COMPARATIVE MORTALITY OF THE THIRD AND FIFTH WARDS OF PITTSBURGH
1923-28

Per Cent of Total Deaths from Selected Causes Occurring in These Wards



In the Dispensary the average attendance is 75% colored against 25% white patients. Of this number about 50% will pay fifteen cents for their medicine.

THE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL. The Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh gives the following comparative report of Negro morbidity.

Year	Admissions	Negro	Male	Female	% of Total Admissions
Year ending May 31, 1928.....	2,352	310	177	133	13.1
Year ending May 31, 1929.....	2,658	395	214	181	14.8

The following enlightening information is included in its 1929 report:

"Theoretically, any hospital in the city of Pittsburgh (this one included) may say that its doors are open to all regardless of race, creed, or color. It is true that the doctor and the nurse are concerned with none of

these things. A sick child is a sick child, and the care of one sick child is the same as another, regardless of race, creed, color or any other factor which enters into the social status. However, those who are responsible for the administration of hospitals are required to consider the rights of all classes alike. The majority of persons who pay for a private room in a hospital belong to the white race. There are occasions when colored patients request a private room, but such an occasion does not often arise. When it does, it may present a problem. Mothers on the private room floor have the privilege of remaining with their children. These mothers meet in the corridors, in the general reception room on the private floor, and also on the veranda where patients are taken for sunlight."

"Although we may say that the hospital is the last place in the world where one would expect to find social distinction; under the circumstances just suggested, we have a social problem."

"It is true, however, that this problem has not arisen during the past year. We have had no Negro parents request private room accommodations for their children."

"May I add that we find the colored mothers and fathers most cooperative in carrying out the instruction of the Doctors and Nurses. They pay their bills quite as well as the white people, and sometimes a little better."

St. Joseph's Hospital. This hospital treated 98 Negro patients during 1928. The majority of these patients came from the mining districts, Coverdale and Castle Shannon. Only a small percentage of this number was able to pay its hospital bill.

The Elizabeth Steel Magee Hospital, could give no data since its records are not cross-filed according to race.*

The Allegheny General Hospital does not classify racial information on its records and was not in a position to devote the time required for the research involved.**

The Presbyterian Hospital in the past year had 192 Negro patients admitted to the wards, the majority of them being cared for free of charge.

The Eye and Ear Hospital of Pittsburgh, Pa. admitted 77 Negro patients for 1929 (July 1). All cases free ones.

Tuberculosis League of Pittsburgh. This hospital is the "chest division" of the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center. Negro patients are rare. Apparently, it is against the hospital's policy to admit more than a very few. Never had more than one at one time. One at present. One is to be admitted soon. Capacity 150 beds, 86% of the beds entirely free. The hospital is willing to maintain a separate pavillion for Negroes, similar to the one they have for men now. The Superintendent regrets that Negro leaders do not concur with this idea. She believes the rank and file would welcome it.

Dispensary. The Tuberculosis League Dispensary has a yearly attendance of about 9000 patients, about 700 of these being Negroes. Approximately 15% of the patients appearing for the first time are diagnosed as having tuberculosis. This percentage is no higher among Negroes than among white patients. Negroes through ignorance, lack of initiative, or other causes, allow the disease to progress to an almost hopeless stage be-

* Miss Jeanette Washington, Public Health Nursing Association, knows personally that the Magee Hospital is doing its share for the Negro population of Pittsburgh.

** Miss Washington also knows personally of several Negro patients having private rooms at Allegheny General Hospital.

fore going to a doctor which makes an important difference. The results of treatment are not nearly as good as among white, another factor contributing toward difficulty of hospitalization. An Open Air School for suspects and for those children that have been exposed to the disease, as well as inactive cases, is maintained by the League on the Hospital grounds. The children remain from 9:00 until 3:30, going home at night. The diet and exercise are supervised by the Dispensary staff. There has been only 1 death in the school in ten years. Negro children usually comprise from 20 to 35% of the total. The children eligible for admission are selected by the Board of Education.

PASSAVANT HOSPITAL, located on Reed Street in the Hill District, has borne a major share of the Negro hospitalization in Pittsburgh. In 1927-28, twenty-one per cent of its patients were free, and five per cent part-paying. These are significant figures because so many Negro patients are involved. During the same year there were 2,162 emergency cases handled by the hospital. According to the social worker almost all of these cases were colored. At the time of our visit there the number of white and colored patients in the wards was equally distributed. On free nursing days at the hospital approximately three-fourths of the patients are colored.

During 1928 there were 2,499 patients registered in Passavant's dispensary, of this number 2,106 or 88.2% were Negroes.

DISPENSARIES AND CLINICS

In 1920 there were 135½ total dispensary hours available for residents of, and located in, the 3rd and 5th wards. The substantial increase that exists over the 1920 figures is evinced in the fact that Passavant Hospital conducts 17 clinics covering all ambulatory cases, while in the Irene Kaufmann Settlement there are Better Baby Conferences twice a week under the Public Health Nursing Association of Pittsburgh, and Baby Clinics under the Child Welfare Department of the City of Pittsburgh. The distribution of these clinics in 1920 was as follows:

	Third Ward	Fifth Ward
Total Hours	103½	13
General Medicine	12	12
Ear, Nose and Throat	34	6
Children	2½	0
Women's Diseases	7½	2
Surgical	6½	0
Eye	17½	0
Genito-Urinary	6	0
Maternity	6	0
Tuberculosis	3	12
Skin	2½	0
Well Babies	5	0
Orthopedic	0	0
Proctology	1	0
Neurology	0	0

The Third Ward had approximately 40% of the total dispensary hours available in the city, and a varied type of service not found in any other ward.

Apart from the dispensaries and clinics heretofore mentioned—additional information as follows is available.

THE PITTSBURGH FREE DISPENSARY is a unit of the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center,—the out-patient department. The clinic is general, both medical and surgical. Teeth are extracted at the nominal

cost of 25c or 50c if gas is used. The Social Service Department keeps no records. One worker estimates that there are about 50 patients a day—approximately half of whom are Negroes. There is a larger percent in the Genito-Urinary Clinic. Patients are from all over the state. This is also the dispensary for the Eye and Ear Hospital. Most of the Negroes are from the immediate neighborhood. A nominal fee of 25c for the card of admission and 15c for subsequent visits is charged.

The Genito-Urinary Clinic of the Pennsylvania Department of Health is operated in the evenings. The attendance averages 125 men each of two nights a week, and 25 women; about one-third of the persons attending are colored. No records are kept by race. Individual case records only are available. A fee of $1.00 a visit is charged, but no one is refused treatment. Most of the Negro patients are men between the ages of 19 and 35. There are 3 physicians, 2 nurses, and one helper.

Morbidity

In the fall of 1928 the Urban League undertook the gathering of data on the cost of morbidity among Pittsburgh's Negro population. While sufficient data were not secured to make the findings conclusive, the following compilations have been made for the purposes of this study.

Table H 5
Hospitals and Negroes in Pittsburgh
1928

Name of Hospital	Total Negroes Admitted Fiscal Year		Total	Average No. Days per Patient	Average Minimum Cost per Bed per Day per Patient	
	Male	Female			Adult	Child
Municipal	18	10	28	30	4.00	4.00
St. Francis	228	343	571*	23	3.00	1.00
Pittsburgh City Home and Hospital	301	107	408	50	.91	.91
Leech Farm	19	11	30	297	2.00	2.00
Montefiore	59	137	196	12	Per capita	6.32
Roselia Foundling Asylum	4	5	9	12**	3.00	....
Presbyterian	73	94	167	9½	3.00	2.00

* 56 Children.
** Adults.

Convalescent Care

If there is any one outstanding need for attention among the Negro population of Pittsburgh it is that of convalescent facilities. Woefully lacking as they are there has been no persistent effort either on the part of agencies working in the field or of Negroes to provide even private homes for this need. Many conferences have been held, and much data have been collected on the question, but the conveniences so far found available in existing institutions are included in the following analysis of replies received from homes.

The Kingsley Association "has not found it possible to admit colored people" to the Lillian Fresh Air Home and Lillian Fresh Air Rest."

The Harmarville Convalescent Home "has never taken colored patients as the capacity is too small."

THE ST. BARNABAS FREE HOME AT GIBSONIA accepts colored patients "as they are able. There are at present five in the Home and on July 6 a sixth was taken home by his parents." The capacity of the Home is 100.

THE SEWICKLEY FRESH AIR HOME. "We do not and never have admitted colored children to the Home, although we have had many applications."

THE ZOAR HOME FOR MOTHERS, BABIES, AND CONVALESCENTS with a capacity for 80 children and 30 mothers reports "The percentage of Negro inmates taken care of in our institution is very low. During the year 1928, there were six babies and three mothers taken care of. During 1929 (to July 16) four babies and two mothers were taken care of."

The hospitals constantly face this problem of providing convalescent care. Their problems need no further elaboration.

ST. FRANCIS HOSPITAL. "Our experience covers about 5 cases—all adults. The social worker was unable to get any of them placed for convalescent care."

MERCY HOSPITAL. "There are no institution accommodations for the Negro convalescent patient—without having made any particular study of the local situation it seems to me that the most immediate relief could be secured by getting information about private homes where convalescent patients could be cared for, either with or without charge."

PASSAVANT HOSPITAL. "The problem of placing colored convalescent patients is one requiring a great deal of attention. We have received noteworthy cooperation from the Urban League, the Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor, the Salvation Army, and from Mayview Hospital. In many instances colored patients have been taken into private homes."

MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL. "As a social worker in a hospital which treats a large percentage of Negroes, I am daily faced with the crying need of convalescent and after-care for the patients who have been treated in the hospital for surgical and medical conditions. You doubtless know that there is in the City of Pittsburgh not a single place where a colored man, woman or child can be sent on discharge from a hospital. When there is no longer an acute condition the patient cannot be kept in a hospital. He is discharged and goes back to an over-crowded home or to a bare room in a rooming house where little care can be given him. The result is either a prolonged period of inactivity or another breakdown necessitating readmission to the hospital. May I point out that this lack is uneconomical both from a health and a financial standpoint."

ELIZABETH STEEL MAGEE HOSPITAL. "There is a great need for convalescent care for Negro women. We have no place to send our convalescing patients other than their own homes or boarding houses."

SOUTH SIDE HOSPITAL. "Patients are frequently discharged from the hospital who have no suitable place to go, who would be much benefited by a few weeks spent in a well conducted convalescent home."

THE WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL. "We feel that there is a great need for convalescent care for men, women, and children."

PITTSBURGH HOMEOPATHIC HOSPITAL. "There is vital need of a convalescent home for Negroes in Pittsburgh. The cases most requiring convalescence are those who need fresh air and sunshine to perfect a cure, such as pneumonia in adults and nutrition in children.

"The Negroes suffering with pneumonia who are admitted to the hospital as charity cases, usually live with their entire family in one room of a house which also houses several other families, and is situated in a congested neighborhood.

"Convalescent care, where a patient has the benefit of fresh air and sunshine, is just as necessary as hospital care, and many cases of chronic illness will be prevented when this care has been provided for the Negroes of Pittsburgh."

The Negro's Approach to His Health Problem

There is one Negro physician in Pittsburgh to every 2,165 of the population, one dentist to every 2,600 of the population, a registered nurse to every 13,000 inhabitants.* When one considers the fact that a Negro physician may not receive his training in the city, that he may not practice in any of the city's hospitals, that he has no facilities for enlarging his technical skill, and since there are no institutions where Negro nurses may be trained, or hospitals where they may practice in the city, there is little wonder that the decrease in mortality has been so retarded.**

However, efforts are being constantly waged toward improving these conditions, directly and indirectly. The National Negro Health Week Movement has brought into Negro communities a visualization of the possibilities of maintaining good health, as well as of eradicating disease.

The efforts of the Center Avenue Y. M. C. A., the Center Avenue Y. W. C. A., and the Urban League in fostering Negro Health Week in Pittsburgh, and receiving the cooperation of local, state and national agencies along with that of more than 13 Negro physicians and 13 dentists are to be commended. This campaign stressed personal hygiene, sickness prevention, accident prevention, infant care, better housekeeping, and better neighborhoods.

There is no doubt that the work of the two colored public health nurses employed by the Public Health Nursing Association*** and working from Irene Kaufmann Settlement has been most effective. Aside from the care and relief they administer, the constant contact has done much toward minimizing the inhibitions prevalent among certain strata of Negroes about hospitalization and toward giving the community a health consciousness.

There are two private sanitariums conducted by Negro physicians. These are small and for the accommodation of their practice. However, there is an effort to establish Livingstone Memorial Hospital in the Hill District. While the Hospital Association has raised sufficient funds to purchase a site, the hospital is not in operation, as their first effort is toward educating the Negro population along that line. Undoubtedly one of the purposes for establishing such an institution would be to permit Negro physicians and nurses opportunities for training, research and professional activity which is denied them in all other Pittsburgh hospitals.

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* Statistics secured from the Pittsburgh Urban League.

** Since this was written the Livingstone Memorial Hospital Association has secured the old Montefiore Hospital property.

*** A Negro woman physician is one of the clinicians at the Baby Clinics held at Irene Kaufmann Settlement.

VII. INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT

Eighty-seven out of every one hundred Negro males ten years of age and over were gainfully employed in Pittsburgh at the time of the 1920 census. At the same time seventy-six out of every one hundred native white males and ninety-one out of every one hundred foreign born males were gainfully employed.

Thirty-four out of every one hundred Negro women, twenty-six of every one hundred native white women, and sixteen of every one hundred foreign born white women were gainfully employed.

Thirty-five of every one hundred Negro married women, four of every one hundred native white married women, and three of every one hundred foreign born white married women were engaged in gainful occupations.

In 1920 there were seventy-one occupations in which more than twenty-five Pittsburgh Negro males were employed, and eighteen in which more than the same number of Negro women found work. Since that time there has not been any change in the scope of his employment, though the volume has increased, particularly in the industrial fields.

Being first employed by the steel mills as strike-breakers, unacquainted with the industry, the Negro workers were assigned to unskilled jobs. Although the Negro has advanced very rapidly in industry, the vast majority follow the unskilled occupations. An analysis of 22 plants in 1925* showed that approximately 60% of the Negro workers were unskilled, 35% semi-skilled, and 5% skilled.

Although plants are not employing as many workers as in 1923, it is interesting to note that Negroes are remaining in the industries. Many plants decided to keep a certain portion of their working personnel Negro.

In the Duquesne Reduction Branch of the Federated Metals Corporation 70% of the total work force of 165 employees are Negro. The Park Works of the Crucible Steel Company has 161 Negro workers, or 11½% of its 1400 employees.

The Westinghouse Airbrake Company employed 45 Negroes prior to 1916, 300 in 1923, and 140 in 1929. The 1929 figure represents 3.7% of its total work force. Of its present Negro employees, 19 are on salaries and 121 working in the shop.

The Pittsburgh Railways Company employs 176 Negroes, or 3.8% of the total work force.

The Pittsburgh Coal Company employs 56 colored men in its maintenance force and approximately 2500 as operatives in the mines. In 1920 there were only 72 Negro miners in the Pittsburgh district.

The Lockhart Iron and Steel Company employs approximately 1600 workers, 35% of whom are Negroes.

As samples of the industrial distribution of Negroes in the Pittsburgh area, the aforementioned figures are significant. The Department of Labor and Industry of Pennsylvania, in a study of 461 employers of Negro help in Pennsylvania, 22.3% of whom were in Allegheny County,

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* "The Negro Workers in the Major Industries and Building Trades of Pittsburgh," Ira De A. Reid. Material brought up to date through inquiry by letter.

reached the following conclusions regarding the industrial employment of Negroes:*

1. There is a general ignorance of Negroes as workmen by those who have never used them.
2. There is no serious or extreme racial prejudice against Negro workmen.
3. There is an increasing demand for Negro workmen for construction work, especially for foundation, concrete and excavation work, where they may eventually become indispensable.
4. The tendency of Negro employment is to follow closely the general trend of general employment curves.
5. The restriction of foreign immigration widens the demand and opportunity for Negro workers.
6. There is general good health among Negro workers.
7. There is low liability to accidents among Negro workmen.

The chief demand for male workers in Pittsburgh is in such basic industries as iron and steel, as unskilled workers; the building trades, as laborers and construction and foundation workers; and as porters, janitors and messengers in the trade organizations. Negro women find their major outlet in domestic and personal service, as cleaners and as laundresses. More than 90% of the employed Negro women are engaged in these occupations.**

The consensus of opinion of the representative employment managers regarding Negro workers was expressed in a general summary of his capabilities, as follows:

Good

with pick and shovel
in carrying material
at repairing roads
at building and demolition
at work requiring speed
on hot and dry operations
on wet and hot jobs
on dusty jobs
where there are fumes and smoke
on oily work
on shifts

Fair

in concrete
with wheelbarrow
as hod-carrier
in cleaning tracks and repairing
as trucker
at shoveling material in bulk
at coal pushing and as fireman
on stills and furnaces
as a rigger's helper
as a boilermaker's helper
as an engineer's helper

* Labor and Industry, Vol. XIII, Number 1, January, 1926, pages 18-20.
** From the files of the Pittsburgh Urban League.

when closely confined
on dirty work
on night work

Poor

as machinist's helper
as blacksmith's helper
as carpenter's helper
in miscellaneous work
at work requiring precision
on wet and cold jobs
when exposed to weather
in variable temperature

While the unskilled jobs and those of personal service are open to Negroes there are very few of the better paying positions, as those requiring skill, available for him. The welfare worker in one industrial plant in Pittsburgh states that in his eleven year's experience, it has been impossible for him to acquire promotion for Negro workers. Their average status is that of 1918 and 1919, this despite the fact that the management was willing to give the opportunity to workers who showed ability. In this particular case, white workmen refused to work with a Negro in a skilled position. In a few instances where Negro workers have not come in contact with a large number of white workers, they have risen to skilled positions in Pittsburgh. The general situation, however, is one of general exclusion from skilled trades.

In the building trades the Negro has not fared so well as in other sections of the Middle Atlantic States. This is to a large extent due to the attitude of labor unions* and the lack of apprenticeship training. In 1925 there were 478 Negroes members of Building Trades unions in Pittsburgh. Only one union, the wood and metal lathers, had Negro apprentices. The plasterers and plumbers did not admit Negro workers, the painters admitted them into separate locals. Bricklayers' Union No. 2 permitted membership, but did not encourage it. The carpenters had a few Negro members of long standing, but made no effort to encourage more memberships. The electrical workers, through a system of examinations, make it virtually impossible for Negroes to join. Union officials do not encourage Negro membership in mixed locals, though the Hod-Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union has done this successfully. Believing that a separate local for Negroes would promote a better labor organization, they maintain that:

Arguments between white and Negro members in meeting often become personal and end in friction.

After the Negro enters the Union, he usually wants the distinction of being the only Negro in there, and will not encourage others to join.

It is hard collecting Negroes' dues.

Negroes naturally get second choice when they are sent on a job.

The Negro violates union rules more frequently than the white members.

The Negro will scab.

The Negro will work overtime for regular wages.

The Negro will work with non-union men.

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* "Negro Membership in American Labor Unions, June, 1930," Ira De A. Reid. Pamphlet published by the Dept. of Research and Investigation, National Urban League.

On the other hand, Negro workers who have experienced difficulties with organized labor maintain that:

It is impossible for unions to be fair to Negro workmen.

There is no assurance of regular work since an employer may reject any worker.

White workers in the union often refuse to work with Negroes.

Because of the marginal existence of the average Negro worker and since he is assured of steadier employment as a non-union worker, that status is to be preferred, for the present at least.

While many of the residents in the Hill District are employed in the basic industries of the Pittsburgh district, the majority of them are engaged in those occupations related to their near environments, including porters, laborers on construction operations, public service employees and janitors. There are, however, approximately 200 miners said to be living in the Third and Fifth Wards who go to their daily work in trucks provided by one of the coal companies. According to the Negro welfare worker of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, these men find the conveniences of living within the city greater than the disadvantages of getting to and from work each day.

The occupational distribution and the wages of 302 male workers and 134 female workers is given in Table I 1.

Data* secured from 302 workers showed that 50.9% of them had been employed on the same job for two years or less, while 70% had been employed for less than five years. Approximately 14% (13.9) of the workers reporting had been regularly employed for more than ten years.

At the time of this study, there were 23 males and 11 females unemployed. In other wards, 113 people, or 33.6% of the persons reporting on their employment activities for the year, had been unemployed for periods from one week to three months in length.

Tables I 1 and I 2 are based upon the returns on the family questionnaire used by investigators in this survey.

Public Service

More than 700 Negroes find employment in the city, county, state and federal offices in Pittsburgh. The aggregate wage for these workers approximates $75,000 monthly. The distribution of these workers is most difficult to secure. However, such facts as were obtainable are related herein.

There are twelve Negro firemen at the Negro fire station in the Hill. There are two Negro captains at this station. The Police Department reports that there are thirty-five Negro policemen and one policewoman.** One of the policemen is considered an expert in markmanship and in finger-printing. An assistant city solicitor is a Negro. Negroes are employed as clerks in the offices of the City Treasurer, Comptroller, Department of Public Welfare, and the Water Assessor. A Negro is messenger to the Director of Public Works and another to the Head of the Bureau of Highways and Sewers. A woman is employed in the Contagious Diseases Bureau of the Health Department. Eight Negroes are given full time employment in the Bureau of Recreation. A Negro is also employed as a telephone operator in the Department of Public Welfare.

* Data based upon the returns of the family questionnaire used by the investigators in this survey.

** Another report gives the number of firemen as 16 and policemen as 32.

Table I 1

Occupations and Wages

Males

Occupation	Number Employed	Average Weekly Wage	Range of Wages
Watchman	2	$30.00	$25 to $35
Paper Hanger	6	22.67	18 to 25
Radio Salesman	1	.....	.....
Janitor	34	27.25	17 to 35
Truck Driver	13	29.58	18 to 50
Laborer	104	28.20	.....
Expressman	1	.....	.....
Teamster	2	.....	.....
Contractor	3	35.00	35
Hod Carrier	2	45.00	45
Construction Work	6	28.25	22 to 45
Block Setter	1	.....	.....
Chauffeur	7	30.83	30 to 33.50
Waiter	5	20.00	20
Cement Finisher	1	.....	.....
Mechanic	5	36.40	30 to 40
Mill Men	8	31.00	25 to 35
Transfer Co. (Proprietor)	2	22.50	22.50
Coal Miner	2	.....	.....
Retail Merchant	1	.....	.....
Engineer	2	14.60	7 to 30
Boot Black	5	25.00	20 to 30
Cook	5	40.00	30 to 50
Mail Clerk	4	32.50	30 to 35
Soda Fountain Helper	1	15.00	15
Electrician	1	.....	.....
Supervisor in Candy Co.	1	.....	.....
Utility Man	1	30.00	30
Huckster	2	.....	.....
Interior Decorator	1	.....	.....
Minister	2	.....	.....
Shoe Repairer	3	28.33	.....
Operator of Electric Machine	1	14.00	14
Baker	2	33.75	32.50 to 35
Car Washer	1	32.50	32.50 to 35
Foreman	1	.....	.....
Tailor	2	21.00	12 to 30
Pullman Porter	4	22.00	22
Business Agent	1	9.00	9
Printer	1	33.00	33
Bus Boy	1	14.00	14
Painter	1	20.00	20
Moulder	1	25.00	25
Elevator Operator	3	20.66	15 to 25
Newsboy	2	6.00	5 to 7
Carpenter	5	36.00	36
Fireman	1	.....	.....
Music Teacher	1	.....	.....
Bottle Washer	1	7.00	7
Barber	2	40.00	40
Butcher	1	25.00	25
Welfare Worker	1	.....	.....
Shop Keeper	1	.....	.....
Bricklayer	1	35.00	35
Huckster's Helper	1	7.50	7.50
Messenger	3	20.66	13 to 25
Junk Man	1	18.00	18
Mail Carrier	1	30.00	30
Cleaner	1	35.00	35
Porter	20	21.73	6 to 33
Dresser of Chickens	1	12.00	12

TABLE I 1—(*Continued*)

OCCUPATIONS AND WAGES

Females

Occupation	Number Employed	Average Weekly Wage	Range of Wages
General Housework—Day's Work	83	$ 9.05	$ 3 to $21
Typist	2	3.33	3 to 4 a day
Laundress	10	10.00	10
Sheet Writer	1	12.00	12
Clerk	1	.....	.....
Factory	2	5.50	5.50
Maid	16	11.50	5 to 15
Dressmaker	5	7.75	5 to 10.50
Waitress	5	15.00	10 to 25
Dentist's Assistant	1	12.00	12
Storekeeper	1	.....	.....
Hair Dresser	2	17.00	17
Cook	1	15.00	15
Matron	1	12.00	12
Cateress	2	20.00	10 to 30

As laborers and artisans, the city employs 3 roller men for asphalt work, 25 rakers, 209 tampers, 1 plant foreman, 10 truck drivers, 4 cement mixers, and 150 laborers.

In the county offices, there is a clerk in the County Treasurer's office, a messenger and deputy sheriff in the sheriff's office, and a messenger in the Prothonotary's office. Three women are employed in the Register of Wills' office, two in the Juvenile Court, and two in the Recorder's office.

In the Post Office there are approximately 200 Negroes employed as clerks and carriers. The only state employee is a Negro woman employed as a placement secretary in the State Department of Labor.

TABLE I 2

Reported Weekly Wages of 190 Male Workers

Wages	Frequency	Wages	Frequency
$ 7.00	1	26.00	1
8.00	2	27.00	1
10.00	4	28.00	3
12.00	2	30.00	40
13.00	1	32.00	1
15.00	3	32.50	1
17.00	1	33.00	5
18.00	7	35.00	16
19.00	1	36.00	4
20.00	13	38.00	1
22.00	9	40.00	8
22.50	2	45.00	6
23.00	4	46.00	1
24.00	6	50.00	4
25.00	42		
		Total	190

VIII. DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

In Pittsburgh, as in other cities in the United States, there is a dearth of usable crime statistics. The records of the police department have not been compiled to suit the purposes of criminological research, and any attempt to use them for the purpose of correlating criminality with race is virtually impossible. The only thing that may be expected from such an effort is a demonstration which is indicative, but not conclusive. From these data, however, it may be said that all proportions being guarded, the Negro in Pittsburgh and in the Hill District seems to be more frequently in contact with agencies of criminal justice than the white.

In 1923 there were 26,476 police arrests in the City of Pittsburgh. Of this number 3,678 or 13.8% were Negro offenders. In 1928 there were 68,779 arrests, Negroes contributing 15,474 or 22.5% of the offenders. The percentage peak for Negro offenders was reached in 1926 when they contributed 24.4% of the total arrests. Data for the period 1923-1929 is presented in Table C I.

TABLE C 1

Per Cent Negroes in Total Arrests in Pittsburgh 1923-1929*

Year	Total Arrests	Negro Arrests	Per Cent Negro
1923	26,476	3,678	13.8
1924	61,473	13,258	21.5
1925	62,886	14,692	23.3
1926	66,937	16,369	24.4
1927	74,847	15,797	21.1
1928	68,779	15,474	22.5
1929	59,748	12,702	21.2

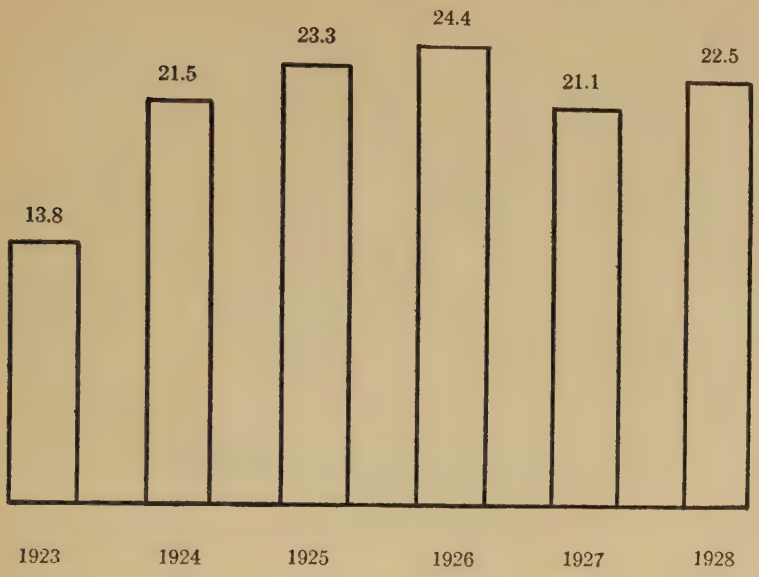
During this period the Negro has formed between 6 and 9% of the total population, and contributed a yearly average of 21.1% of the total arrests.

Police Station Number 2 in Pittsburgh covers all the territory within the following limits—from Boyd and Diamond Streets at Fifth Avenue to Washington Place, north to Bigelow Boulevard, east on the Boulevard to Craig Street and south to Center Avenue, west along Center Avenue to Alequippa Street to Robinson Street and south to Fifth Avenue, west to Brady Street to the Boulevard of the Allies to Bluff Street to Boyd Street. This station is in the most densely populated Negro section of the city. It likewise includes a lot of foreign-born peoples. As the figures cited are for the entire police district, they may not be interpreted as exact indices of crime in the Third and Fifth Wards. It is fair to assume, however, that a very large fraction of the total arrests are from those sections, particularly those arrests of Negroes. In 1928, there were 15,860 arrests through the Second Police Station. Of this number, 8,073, or 50.9% were Negroes.

* See Comments of Committee Members, Chapter III footnote*, p. 14.

PER CENT NEGRO IN TOTAL ARRESTS—PITTSBURGH, PA.

1923-1928



Though 15,860 persons were arrested by Second Police Station officers during 1928, 63.8% of them were discharged. Of Negroes arrested 51.6% were discharged. Total arrests and discharges by months for the year, and arrests on charges of Drunkenness and Suspicious Persons are shown in the following table.

TABLE C 2

Charges, Arrests and Discharges by Months
Second Police Station—1928

	Total Arrested	Negroes Arrested	Total Discharged	Per Cent Discharged	Drunk	Total Arrested as Suspicious Persons
January	1,245	714	776	62.3	499	289
February	1,171	622	744	63.4	538	246
March	1,453	741	891	61.3	750	171
April	1,281	743	666	51.2	524	189
May	1,551	776	1,167	75.2	731	226
June	1,343	709	904	67.3	630	223
July	1,304	614	898	68.8	564	193
August	1,445	796	995	68.8	676	212
September	1,440	611	949	65.9	694	202
October	1,401	647	866	61.8	426	244
November	988	451	574	58.1	454	170
December	1,238	649	690	55.7	632	149
Total	15,860	8,073	10,120	63 3	7,118	2,514

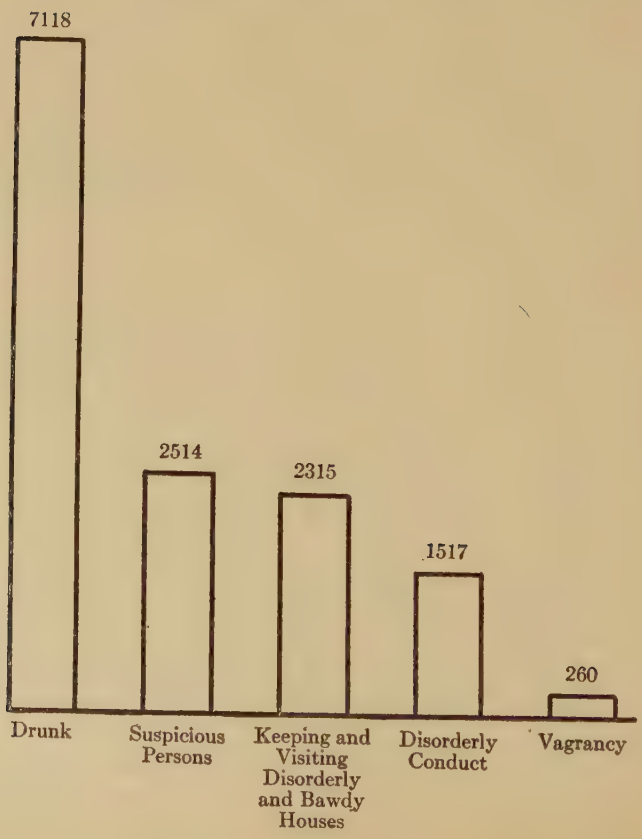
Drunkenness continues as the chief cause of arrest, being responsible for 44.8% of the total number of apprehended. From the point of view of numbers, the charge of Suspicious Persons ranks next to the highest. Fifteen and eight-tenths per cent of the persons arrested during 1928 were held on this charge.

Officers of the district maintain that crimes against the public order, including those of morality and the specific charge of gambling are the chief causes of complaint against the Negroes in the Hill. A further analysis of the Negroes arrested, however, shows that they constituted:

79% of all the arrests for Disorderly Conduct, or....	1,198
71% of all the arrests for Visiting and Keeping Disorderly and Bawdy Houses, or.....	1,786
63% of all the arrests for Suspicious Persons, or.....	1,584
58% of all the arrests for Vagrancy, or.....	151
32% of all the arrests for Drunkenness, or	2,278
12.6% of all the arrests for all other causes, or.....	1,271

ARRESTS ON SELECTED CHARGES

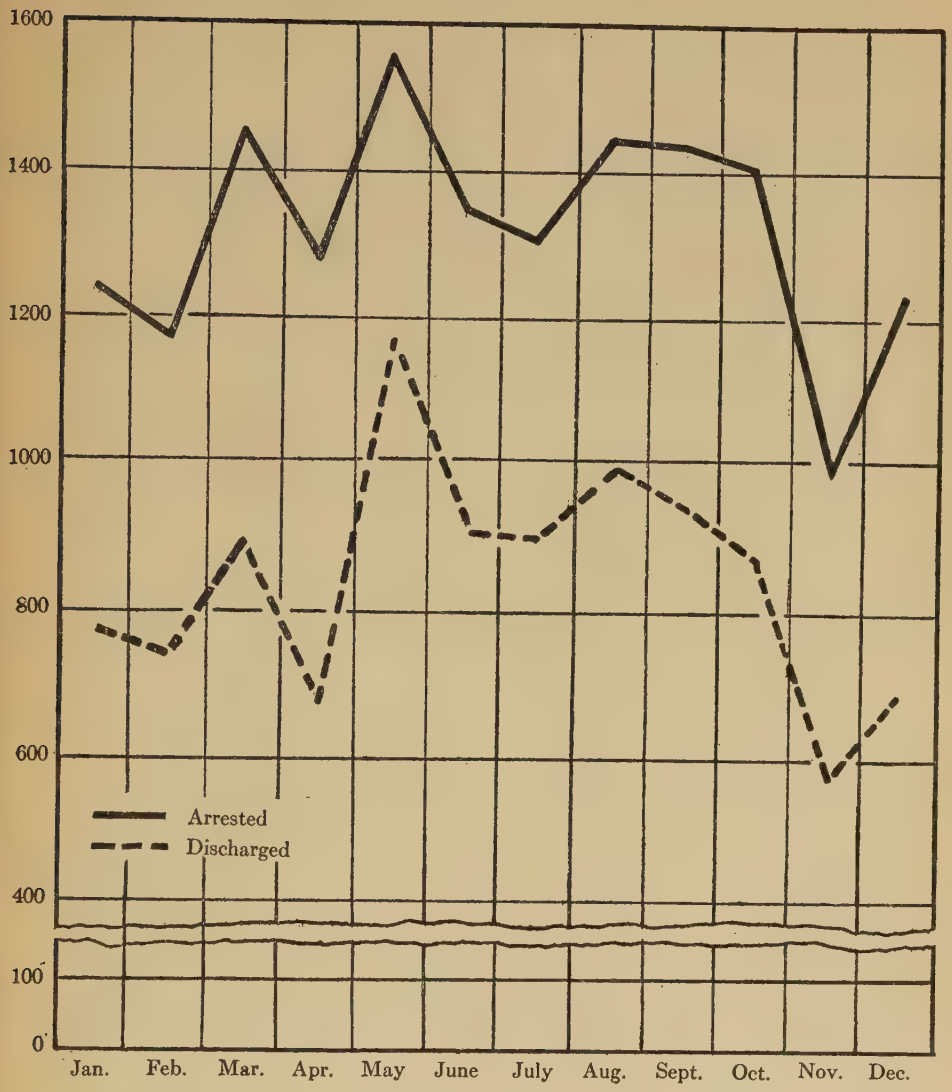
Second Police Station—1928



DISTRIBUTION OF ARRESTS AND DISCHARGES BY MONTHS

SECOND POLICE STATION

1928



While the first five items are responsible for 84.4% of the Negro arrests during the year, they are responsible for 88% of all white arrests in the district. There were five cases of rape charged against Negroes in 1928, as against eight charged against white offenders. In fact, when the incidence of population is taken into consideration, he surpasses every specific group in every specific crime except arson, embezzlement, forgery and the violation of certain civil codes. In many cases, the frequency is many times that of any other race, and the peak is reached in Homicides with a frequency five times that of the native whites.

TABLE C 3

Analysis of Causes of Arrests—Second Police Station
1928

	Number	Per Cent
Total arrests	15,860	.....
Total arrested for Drunkenness	7,118	45.3
Total arrested for Keeping Disorderly House Keeping Bawdy House and Visiting Disorderly House	2,315	14.7
Total arrested for Vagrancy	260	1.6
Total arrested as Suspicious Persons	2,514	16.0
Total arrested for Disorderly Conduct	1,517	9.7

The following table shows the disposition of these cases:

TABLE C 4

Disposition—Second Police Station
1928

	Number	Per Cent
Total discharged	10,120	63.8
Total fined	1,509	9.5
Total committed to jail and workhouse	2,886	18.2
Total referred to Juvenile Court	184	1.2
Other dispositions	1,161	7.3
	15,860	100.0
Illiterates arrested	1,715	

The Workhouse

Between January 1, 1919 and January 1, 1929, there were received into the Allegheny County Workhouse 1,000 Negro females and 13,277 Negro males. No record is kept of those discharged according to color. According to the Superintendent, it is a "safe average" to say that all of those received have been discharged, with the exception of a few who may have died while there. Commitments covering the ten year period are given in Table C 5.

TABLE C 5

Negro Commitments to Allegheny County Workhouse
1919-1928

Year	Males	Females	Totals
1919	1,122	103	1,225
1920	865	44	909
1921	1,319	77	1,396
1922	782	61	843
1923	1,354	40	1,394
1924	1,954	112	2,066
1925	1,458	113	1,571
1926	1,278	106	1,384
1927	1,509	154	1,663
1928	1,636	190	1,826
Total	13,277	1,000	14,277

Homicides

In 1927 a total of 28 homicides were recorded with the Homicide Bureau. Nine of the victims were Negroes, while ten Negroes were accused as assailants. Negroes were accused of 35.7% of the homicides, and were the victims in 32.1% of them.

In 1928, the figures are more decisive. In that year, Negroes were accused of 22, or 41.3% of the 53 homicides committed in Pittsburgh, while they constituted 43.4% of the victims.

Thirty-six of the 53 homicide cases were completed by arrests, with five verdicts of first degree murder returned; three, of second degree; and five, of manslaughter. Seven of those brought to trial were found not guilty, and one was committed to the insane asylum. Five of the accused were exonerated by the coroner, and one died before the trial. In seven cases, the assailant was known, but not apprehended; in ten, the assailant was unknown. Information regarding the other nine cases was not available.

Eighty per cent of the homicides in 1928 involving Negroes were committed in the Hill District. From January 1 to July 1, 1929, there were six Negro homicide victims and eight Negroes accused as assailants. In each case there was one female involved. There have been two white victims with Negro assailants accused, and one Negro victim with white assailant accused.

Vice and Crime in the Hill

The amazing fact about the Hill is that Pittsburgh has permitted intolerable, anti-social conditions to exist there for more than two decades and has done little or nothing to clean up. Raids appear to be political manoeuvres. The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph on July 11, 1929 carried the headline—

"GAMBLING RAIDS OPEN POLITICAL WARFARE
CONSTABLES ARREST MANY
COUNTY AIDS WHEN OFFICERS COMPLAIN
POLICE REFUSE TO DISPERSE 'HILL' CROWDS"

The Pittsburgh Courier, Negro weekly newspaper, outspoken in its editorial policy, constantly reiterates the liaison between raids and political campaigns.

The daily and weekly press have not squelched crime news from the Hill. If they have done anything, they have given it space.

A few years ago, during the administration of Mayor Magee, a committee of Hill District social workers, ministers, and teachers, headed by Sidney A. Teller of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, worked assiduously with city officials and district officers toward cleaning up the vice and crime in that area. Facts regarding gambling, slot machines, prostitution, the manufacture of liquor were welcomed. So long as the protests were active, results were seen, but the activity was short-lived.

In recent years, vice wars have been waged anew, but with no more effective results. There might be stated for accuracy outstanding situations which are flagrant in their existence. These are not listed in the order of their importance—

(1) Gambling and policy playing
(2) Illegal manufacture and sale of liquor
(3) Prostitution and its related vices

Prostitution

Twenty-two years ago, James Forbes, writing on "The Reverse Side" in the Pittsburgh Survey, stated the prostitution in the Hill as follows:

> "The largest number (colored girls) living as prostitutes in Pittsburgh found places in the alley houses of the Hill District, whose patrons were men of their own race or Italian and Slav laborers."
>
> "Last of all in the scale (of types of houses) were the twenty-five cent houses, patronized by Negroes—mostly hovels in the alleys of the Hill District, and each housing perhaps half a dozen inmates. So far as the writer could learn, these actually contained Negresses only, but there was a sprinkling of broken-down, diseased, white prostitutes."

Though these facts were related two decades ago, one has only to walk along Wylie Avenue from Washington to Fullerton Streets any evening and to glance through the side streets to see evidences of a similar situation today. Other areas include Wylie to Center—Fullerton to Logan; Clark Street above Fullerton; Whitcomb Street between Logan and Dennison; Foster Street between Dennison and Fullerton, and Bedford Avenue between Logan and Fullerton.

Liquor

Serving as an index to the large number of arrests for drunkenness is the fact that it is not difficult to obtain liquor in the Hill. While the places are not as recognizable as are similar places in cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, they do exist. A social worker who has been working in the Hill for a quarter of a century affirms that it would not be difficult to locate fifty speakeasies in twenty minutes.

There is an account in The Pittsburgh Courier, date not given—of an interview which the Rev. A. V. B. Hightower had with Director of Public Safety Clark. During the interview the minister is said to have produced a map giving the location of speakeasies and two bottles of "moonshine." The account intimates that there was no result.

The "Numbers"

No one thing has so caught the imagination of the Hill District as the lottery familiarly known as "the numbers." Queries and data on this game of chance are heard in all quarters of the Hill, and little, if any, social ignominy is attached to its being played. Daily thousands of persons play one cent or more on a combination of numbers which they believe will be included in a certain form in the Reports of Exchanges and Balance from the New York and Pittsburgh Stock Exchanges—the winning percentage is 540 to 1—one cent bringing $5.40 to the winners. As a result of the lure of this game even school children have become regular habituees. Reports of winnings and losses are many, particularly the former. "Runners," with whom one may place bets are readily located. One may either visit their headquarters or have them call at one's home. Fortune tellers and sorcerers have thrived because they are reputed to often give the correct information. Even the comic sections of newspapers are supposed to have the lucky number hidden in one of the pictures. At the time of the field visit the god bearing this gift was Crosby's "Skippy." Others believe that "Mike," the radio man, gives out the clearing house number in the early hours of each morning.

As the custom of policy playing has rapidly spread throughout the Eastern and Central States, it is not surprising that it should exist in Pittsburgh. But it is amazing that its practice should be so flagrant. The investigator has seen slips made out on street cars, street corners, and in social institutions. He has also seen residents of the Third and Fifth Wards for two hours file into business concerns in the Third Ward and deposit at a counter over which the odds were posted, their numbers for the following day.

It cannot be denied that no gesture has been made at eradicating this evil. In 1928 there were 89 arrests in Pittsburgh for operation of lotteries. For the four years prior to that time altogether only 26 arrests on that charge were made.

Until there is some aggressive official curtailment, it will continue to be a mania in the Hill. Families with small earnings and little or no economic reserve have staked money which was needed for household necessities on the possible 540 to 1 winning. Insurance men and other collectors have complained about its effect on their business in the Hill.

Pittsburgh might well follow the example of New York in extending to "Bankers," "Runners," and persons possessing policy slips the jail sentences which have at least made the operation of this form of lottery less flagrant.

Juvenile Delinquency

Between 1918 and 1928 inclusive the number of delinquent Negro boys brought into the Juvenile Court increased from 73 to 168, and the number of Negro girls from 33 to 71, an increase of 130.1% for the boys and 115.1% for the girls. Dependent Negro boys increased from 22 to 73, and girls from 30 to 60, an increase of 231.8% for boys and 100% for girls. During the same time, white delinquent boys increased from 129 to 193, or 49.5%. White dependent boys increased from 222 to 539, or 142.8%, while the girls increased from 223 to 539, or 142.3%.

In 1918 Negro boys formed 7.2% of the total delinquents, but increased to 12.7% of the total in 1928; the girls increased from 20.3% to 26.8%. For the dependents, boys increased from 8.9% of the total to 11.9%, the girls decreased from 11.8% to 10% in the latter year.

Of 135 Negro juveniles from Pittsburgh appearing before the Juvenile Court for the first time in 1928, fifty-five lived in the Third and Fifth Wards. These 135 juveniles were detained on the following charges:

Delinquency	69
Incorrigible	45
Truancy	6
Aggravated assault and battery	4
Larceny	3
Delinquency and Truancy	2
Malicious Mischief	2
Neglected	1
Dependent	1
Burglary	1
Runaway	1
	135

No records were obtainable on the 388 juveniles turned over to this court from the Second Police Station.

Juvenile Institutions

In 1918 Negro boys formed 10.4% of the commitments to the Thorn Hill School, while they formed 12.1% of the school population in 1928. This was due not so much to the increase in Negro commitments, as to the decrease in those of white boys during the period.

The Gumbert Industrial School for Girls, established in 1926, has 46 girls, six of whom are colored. The Superintendent states that this is the school's capacity. It has been understood that an additional cottage for colored girls is planned.

The Pennsylvania Training School at Morganza reports its following Negro population for the period June 1, 1924 to June 1, 1929.

TABLE C 6

Negro Commitments to Morganza
1924-1929

	Boys	Girls	Total
June 1, 1924	48	29	77
Received			
1925	33	18	51
1926	27	10	37
1927	25	14	39
1928	32	7	39
	117	49	166
Discharged			
1925	35	16	51
1926	29	23	52
1927	27	15	42
1928	26	6	32
	117	60	177
	Boys	Girls	Total
June 1, 1928 in institution	48	18	66
June 1, 1929 in institution	60	20	80

In the opinion of Juvenile Court workers, the problems facing the colored child are very similar to those encountered by other children, with the addition of the Negro child's problem of prejudice. Bad home conditions, lack of cooperation between parents, poverty, bad habits, poor health and bad housing are major problems. It is the opinion of one court worker that racial prejudices tend to create an inferiority complex in Negro children, putting them always on the defensive. As remedies for this situation, it was suggested that efforts be made to awaken a sense of parental pride in parents, and to develop a greater sympathy between parents.

The probation officer of the court, concurred in the belief that the problem of prejudice is a major one in the Negro child's adjustment.

Dependent Children

On March 1, 1929, the Home Finding Department of the Juvenile Court had 127 Negro children in 58 boarding homes. An investigation

of eight of these homes in the Hill District by Mrs. Helen G. Tyson* showed that they ranked very favorably with most foster homes. Four of the homes were rated as average in quality, four as decidedly good. The court pays $5.16 a week for the care of children in boarding homes.

On the same date there were 235 dependent colored children under care in the county, distributed as follows:

127 in foster homes under the Juvenile Court
78 in the three local institutions for care of colored children
30 under the supervision of other agencies

Probation and Parole

Prior to the year 1927 there were no data by color for Allegheny County on probationers and parolees. According to C. H. Austen, Chief Probation Officer, more than 90% of the total cases given below for the years 1927 and 1928 came from the Third and Fifth Wards of the city.

NEGRO POPULATION ON PROBATION AND PAROLE

1927 and 1928

	Total		Male		Female	
	1927	1928	1927	1928	1927	1928
Placed on Probation	138	131	106	107	32	24
Successful Probationers Discharged	12	45	9	34	3	11
Probationers Re-Arrested and Probation Revoked	8	29	7	27	1	2
Placed on Parole	37	30	34	26	3	4
Successful Parolees Discharged	19	16	18	13	1	3
Parolees Re-Arrested and Parole Revoked	2	3	2	3	0	0

THE COURTS

Though the Negro appears more liable to arrest than white persons, there appears to be no flagrant discrimination against the Negro either in the lower or the special courts. There does appear to be, however, a difference in the ease with which colored persons brought to court are convicted, and the ease operates against the Negroes. Presiding judges have been known to set aside verdicts because they were convinced that they were influenced by color prejudice. In other cases, Negroes have served impartially on the grand jury of the county.

Within recent years, however, the lower courts have showed a sympathetic attitude toward the Negro offender—in some cases a sympathy that was extended as far as was within the judicial power, but brought no direct benefit to the offender, except an escape from sentence. The absence of intelligent direction by sympathetic workers, the return to antisocial environments by the accused persons, are often the causes of their reappearance in the courts.

* Facilities for Institutional Care of Dependent Colored Children in Allegheny County, 1929.

The use of colored social workers in the Juvenile Court and the Morals Court aids in the solution of many personal problems. The Magistrates Courts and Morals Courts are frequently cluttered with minor offenders, while the Juvenile Court is constantly faced with the problem of committing the Negro delinquent children, and finding homes for the Negro dependent child.

On local situations the magistrates of the Third and Fifth Wards were interviewed. The Alderman of the Third Ward talked quite optimistically of the vice and crime situation in his Ward, both in general and among Negroes. He said that during his incumbency conditions have improved. Only a small portion of his cases concern Negroes, the majority of these cases being petty ones. He knew of no particular offense that was prevalent among Negroes in his Ward. He usually paroles first offenders and has but few repeaters. The Alderman of the Fifth Ward reports that the majority of his cases are Negroes. About 50 appear before him in the course of a month. He did not feel that vice and crime were any more rampant in the Fifth Ward than in other sections of the city. He thinks, however, that in the last twelve years, despite the influx of Negroes from the South, the Fifth Ward has improved.

The Morals Court

Statistical data on the work of the Morals Court are not available. The colored worker in this court is employed through the Department of Work Among Negroes of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches. This worker handles the cases of colored girls and of family or domestic relations. While the work done may not be considered scientific case work, the approach of a worker to the problems is of value in effecting adjustments in many cases. No one worker with such a limited financial support can be expected to handle satisfactorily all the cases of Negroes that may be referred to that worker.

The work of the Morals Court has been the subject of adverse and constructive criticism. Without seeking to draw conclusions on that point, it may be stated that the cases in many instances duplicate those handled by other courts.

The Desertion and Non-Support Court

This court reports that only a small percentage of its cases are with Negro families. Such cases as do appear are often related to drink. It appears that the Negro community, despite the number of separations, does not use the legal adjustment available in such cases.

In a column entitled "Smoky City Streets" the Pittsburgh Courier, Negro newspaper, carries synopses of cases appearing before the Lower Courts.

The Negro and Crime

In his study of 1,916 prisoners in the Western Penitentiary, Dr. W. T. Root of the Psychology Department of the University of Pittsburgh draws the following conclusions regarding Negro crime, which may be cited herewith.

"The following causes are probably the chief ones operative in producing the greater frequency of crime amongst the Negro group:

1. All of the social conditions are unfavorable for the Negro, beginning with housing and ending with the thousand social humiliations produced by our caste system.

In Pittsburgh, the Negroes occupy the poorest houses in the poorest districts, after both the house and the neighborhood are unsuitable for respectable people to occupy. When a house is too poor and too unsanitary for even the lowest type of foreigner, it is then permissible for the Negro to occupy it at a very high rental, so high, in fact, that whole families are crowded into one room or two and sublet the beds when not actually in use by the family. Sanitation, morality and common decency are violated by the very physical nature of the housing, lack of privacy, sewage and garbage disposal, the proximity of whole families to every known vice and crime.

2. The case histories of the Negroes in the Western Penitentiary show many of them to be unmarried floaters, coming from rural (often Southern) communities since the war. It must not be forgotten that the Negro born outside of Pennsylvania is responsible for much of the Negro crime. We have relatively few Negroes in the Western Penitentiary who were born in Pittsburgh and thus grew up with compulsory education.

3. While the Negroes convicted and sent to the Western Penitentiary are guilty in a vast majority of the cases (in the opinion of the writer), there is considerable evidence that the whites equally guilty receive less severe sentences, are less subject to arrest and less likely to be convicted. The Negro is often the cat's paw or the victim of unscrupulous whites who either from superior cunning or from police protection avoid arrest or at least conviction. It then comes to pass that while the Negro is convicted as guilty, the white, equally guilty, is not. If this condition is at all prevalent it may be a very definite factor in the high frequency of Negro crime as represented by the Western Penitentiary.

4. Many of our Negro criminals are floaters from the rural South or at least rural communities. Without education or a definite trade, with habits of mind and moral codes unsuited for a Northern city, forced to live in close proximity to the most immoral and vice-infected areas of the city of Pittsburgh, the pertinent thing would probably be to show cause why all do not become criminal.

5. There can be no doubt that the Negro floater from the South, especially, tends to be of exceedingly low intelligence. The moronic nature of this group, plus urban conditions, plus Northern methods and ways, plus the tendency of all other races to exploit him, make a very bad social, moral and economic condition.

6. The Negro coming from the South is usually illiterate, which makes him unsuitable for many jobs; his lack of any trade training still further reduces the type of job open to him; while our caste system bars him from vocational fields irrespective of what his technical training or intelligence may be. Thus there are multiple reasons why the Negro suffers excessively from economic depression and fluctuations in the labor market. Economic necessity knows no law, and the organic sense of hunger knows no racial lines.

7. This is not the place for an elaborate discussion of the matter, but the writer, as a psychologist, feels sure that few white men can appreciate at all the tremendous accumulated effect throughout a

life of our caste system. Debarred from this and that by a thousand social taboos, the lot of the Negro is unparalleled in the experience of any other race.

8. The Negro criminal then is the victim of a vicious circle of social, biological and economic causes; lack of education, no trade training commensurate with the intelligence he has; a set of moral, social and leisure habits adjusted to a rural Southern community; a victim of caste, forced to live in discarded houses of the dominant race; restricted in employment and social opportunity, the Negro is forced daily to feel inferiority and humiliation in a thousand ways. All this must be given consideration in judging his status in the criminal world."

IX. RECREATION

Public Recreation

The Bureau of Recreation in Pittsburgh is under the supervision of the Department of Public Works. For the year 1929, its active centers included—

18 Junior Playgrounds
12 Junior and Senior Playgrounds
15 Junior and Senior Playgrounds with Athletic Fields
10 Senior Boys Playgrounds with Athletic Fields
7 All-year Recreation Centers
5 Indoor Centers (School year only)
1 All-year swimming pool
10 Summer swimming pools
4 North Side pools operated by the Bureau of Recreation on Sunday only.

Of these 78 centers, 8 were located in the Hill district and distributed as follows:

Summer Playgrounds	Hours
Minersville School—Center Ave. at Morgan St.	9:00-5:00
Moorhead School—Granville and Enoch Sts.	9:00-5:00

Junior and Senior Playgrounds With Athletic Fields

Ammon—Bedford Ave. and Marohn St.	9:30-9:00
Kennard—Kirkpatrick and Moultrie Sts.	9:30-9:00

All-year Recreation Centers

Crawford Bath House—Crawford St. and Wylie Ave.
(No playground)

Washington—Bedford Ave. and Logan St.—Junior Playground and Athletic Field

Indoor Centers
(School year only)

Letsche School—Bedford Avenue.....7:00 P. M. to 9:30 P. M.

Swimming Pools
(Summer Only)

Kennard—Kirkpatrick and Reed Streets

The general policy of Pittsburgh appears not to consider the Negro a separate group in the establishment and maintenance of its work, rather to consider the population needs as a whole. No policy of segregation has been made in any of the all-year centers, though special groups have been formed in some of them to obviate any difficulties that might arise. According to the Superintendent of the Bureau (1927),

"At the Oliver pool a special period is arranged for the colored boys and men but at the summer pools no distinction is made. At most of our pools the races intermingle without friction. At one or two locations

colored people do not attend, that is, there seems to be a feeling that they would not be welcomed and they just do not apply for admission. A swimming pool is now under construction on the upper level of the Soho playground in the heart of the Negro district, and it is anticipated that the patrons of this pool will be largely Negro, although it is not our intention to place any restrictions on those attending."

Visits made to the centers operating in the Hill are included in the following reports.

THE CRAWFORD BATH HOUSE is located at Crawford Street and Wylie Avenue, and is a combination of bath house, comfort stations, and club rooms for men and women. The entire staff is of Negroes, and the majority of its patrons, also. The activities of the recreation room include basketball, boxing, and general recreation. A study of recreational facilities in 1927 gives the following summary of its activities.*

"While no attempt is made at segregation the patrons are almost entirely colored. The activities include a kindergarten for children between the ages of two to four years with an enrollment of 48 children. They come in every morning from 10 to 12 o'clock and play in sand boxes and make scrap books. For the high school girls there are the basketball teams, which meet every Monday night. They have an enrollment of about 40 girls. They also have a boxing club for men. About 20 men meet daily to participate in this club. As for the boys, the recreation room is open every evening for them. About 40 to 50 boys take advantage."

WASHINGTON PLAYGROUND is located on the 1200 block on Bedford Avenue and occupies ground from Elm Street to Townsend Street. During the summer season, the staff numbers six, three men and three women. One of the men is colored and is an all-year worker. A white director is the only person on the ground over 30 years of age.

The playground and community house are exceptionally well equipped and well-kept. On an average day, 300 children and young people use the grounds, more of whom are boys than girls. About one-third of the participants are colored. Several small Negro children come in the evening, some of whom are accompanied by adults. The investigator did not see any Negro children at the time of the visit.

MOORHEAD SCHOOL PLAYGROUND is a junior playground, that is, it is used primarily by children up to the age of 12 years. There is one young white woman who supervises the play. Larger and older children sometimes use the grounds, but their play is not carefully supervised. Excepting swings, the equipment is adequate and the grounds, well-kept. The largest attendance so far has been 90. There appeared to be as many Negro children as white ones, and more girls than boys. The children were swinging, playing in the sand box, playing checkers, or sewing at the time of the investigator's visit.

BEULAH KENNARD PLAYGROUND is popularly known as the Soho playground, because of the district in which it is located. There are five workers here, three men and two women. One of the women is over 30, but all the other workers are between 18 and 30. On an average day, there are about 400 children who actually participate in the play. Of these, the majority are white, and apparently, more of them are males. There are frequently many spectators who do not take part in the play. The equipment

* Social and Recreational Opportunities for the Negro in Pittsburgh. Thesis by Mildred Douthitt and Adeline Vatz, Pennsylvania College for Women, 1927. Page 21.

is fairly good, and the grounds, fairly well-kept. When the investigator was on the grounds, a baseball game was in progress; several children were swinging; some children, wading; others, playing in sand; one girl, using parallel bars; and children, playing checkers right outside the gates.

Beulah Kennard Pool has an all-colored staff of life-guards, and a colored matron. While the majority of the swimmers are also colored, a great many white people use the pool, too. The majority of the swimmers are male. Male and female do not swim at the same time, and frequently not the same day. The boys are permitted to swim on 11 out of every 15 days, while the girls have only 9 days. The average attendance per day is 700. The pool is very well-kept.

MINERSVILLE SCHOOL PLAYGROUND is a junior playground this year. The one worker is a young, white woman. The equipment is good for a summer playground. Most of the children are white and female. Small children were swinging and playing in the sand box. Larger children were doing hand work and playing quiet games.

AMMON PLAYGROUND is on Bedford Avenue at Somers Street. Supplies are kept in the Somers Street School. The equipment is good for a summer playground and the grounds are in good condition. Altogether, there are six workers, three men and three women. The worker in charge is a colored man, as is one of the male assistants. Of the people using the grounds, 95% are colored, and the majority is male. The average daily attendance is 400, exclusive of onlookers. Two double tennis courts have just been completed (1929).

While it may appear that Negroes are not using the playground facilities to the fullest extent, it may be mentioned that the attendance of colored persons at the Beulah Kennard pool, and at the Ammon playground is encouraging. Again the fact that the tennis courts at Ammon were the result of petitions from the colored citizens bespeaks an interest not heretofore manifested. One worker points out, however, that there is very little participation of Negroes.* "Although they are not barred, they are made to feel that they are not welcome. No very great attempts, however, have been made to welcome the colored group."

The recreation situation, as are other social situations, is fraught with difficulties. None of the three streets closed for general play purposes in Pittsburgh are located in the Hill District. Of the thirty locations for street showers, only three are in the Third and Fifth Wards. Eight streets in the area are designated for coasting during the winter months.

SUMMER CAMP FACILITIES

The lack of fresh air facilities and camp sites where Negroes may attend is an outstanding social problem in Pittsburgh. The persistent fight over a period of a decade against separate camp sites for the group has resulted in no particular site being available. For some years the Urban League was instrumental in providing outings for orphans, mothers, and babies, but these facilities have not been available in recent years. Efforts were also made to purchase a camp site. Because of an unsatisfactory location and ill-advised financial procedure, this plan fell through. Facilities for select groups of Negroes are available through the agencies in the city.

The Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor gives some time at the end of each season to colored mothers and children.

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* Social and Recreational Opportunities for Negroes in Pittsburgh. Thesis by Mildred Douthitt and Adeline Vatz. Pennsylvania College for Women, 1927:

A few Negro Boy Scouts attend the Boy Scout Camps of Pittsburgh when they are members of mixed groups.

The Girl Scouts set aside a week at Camp Red Wing for Negro girls some years ago. Although "the girls had a fine time," the organization felt that the week was not a success. Since that time, the question has not arisen.

A list of 30 summer camps for the 1929 season issued by the Recreation Committee of the Pittsburgh Federation of Social Agencies shows only one camp that admits the colored group, that being the Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor. The investigator understands that one of the first things to be considered on the Diamond Jubilee program of the Y. M. C. A. for 1931 is the purchase of a site and the equipment of a camp for the Centre Avenue Branch.

There appears to be no tradition among the Negro population for sending their children to camp. The education of public opinion among them must be undertaken before they will appreciate the benefits to be derived.

The public schools appear to present no problem in the field of recreation. White and colored boys have played together on the elementary school and on some of the high school teams. At the new Herron Hill Junior High, there are two gymnasiums and colored boys are on all teams. Other schools have entered colored boys in the public track and field meets.

Negro girls are compelled to use the public recreational facilities particularly for swimming, there being no private recreation facilities for Negro girls in the district. Since the difficulties at Schenley High School some years ago, when it is reported that an attempt was made to conduct separate swimming classes for Negro girls, this problem has not been a major one.

The Wylie Avenue Branch of the Public Library

Here the staff has built its book collection and service around the interests and demands of the predominating racial and nationality groups, and as a result has a large collection of books by or about Negroes. Between 1905 and 1915 this branch's circulation grew from an annual circulation of 102,000 to 200,000 volumes. Between 1915 and 1920 the circulation decreased to 191,000 but in 1925 it had exceeded 225,000. Since the coming of a large Negro population the circulation has not increased so rapidly as formerly, yet the general use of the library has been greater than in the past. The demands for the works of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, elementary books on the English language and religious texts, are outstanding.

Efforts have been made to align the work of the library with the needs of the community. With the individual, the library is known and used to a highly successful degree, but with the group, the institution is hampered by having no club rooms for meetings, and because of a lack of coordination of interests and leadership among the Negro group. During late years the institution has been faced with the problem of handling children who come to the library because of a lack of recreational facilities, and because their parents were away from home. Also the greater number of boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18 who come for the sole purpose of meeting and talking to their friends. These problems are particularly true with Negro children.

Because of the unfavorable housing conditions, lack of recreational centers, and hours of employment, the library staff felt the necessity of

trying to relieve the situation to some extent. And so the library has opened its doors on Sundays from 2:00 P. M. to 6:00 P. M. for reading, study, and the home circulation of books.

Private Recreation Agencies

Much of the recreational work among Negroes is performed by agencies, private and semi-private in their nature, such as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and the Churches.

Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.

The recreational work of the Centre Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A. is done through its physical department and boys' department. Although the program is essentially for its own membership a large number of men and boys take part in the program. With a standard building, class and club space, gymnasium and pool, the institution is equipped to do a larger piece of work.

In 1928 the sum of $2,555.00 was spent for physical work. This represented a per capita per member expenditure of $7.02 or $12.40 per physical member.

The institution had no representative teams, though there are teams from house leagues that play outside organizations. It is the only basketball floor in the city constantly available for the Negro, and a number of teams use the gymnasium. In the spring of 1929, there were 18 of these teams using the floor. For practice and daily use, these men and boys are required to take out memberships in the Y. M. C. A.

The Y. W. C. A. is handicapped because of a plant not adapted to a physical and recreational program. The institution has neither a gymnasium nor a swimming pool. Arrangements are made whereby the girls have swimming instructions at the Schenley High School. In 1928, the Y. W. C. A. had 28 enrolled in swimming classes and an attendance of 216. The number of individuals registered in the department was 91, and the total attendance at all activities, 307. During 1928, the Y. W. C. A. held 26 social events other than departmental ones with a total attendance of 756.

Settlement and Community Houses

The Irene Kaufmann Settlement located in the "Heart of the Hill" is primarily for the Jewish population. Since its existence, however, there have been a few colored children in some of its classes. Invaluable service has been rendered to Negroes through the personal service work of the Settlement. Negroes are constantly in attendance at the various clinics held there; are clients of the social agencies quartered there; secure milk from the city's milk station and attend the open air school. The regular curricular activities of the institution are for other racial groups. In its community ventures such as neighborhood clean-up campaigns and elimination of vice and crime situations, the cooperation of the whole community, regardless of racial lines, is secured. The settlement has made interesting social studies of the Hill District. In its main functions, however, it is distinctly not for Negroes though neither is its program entirely Jewish in character nor its entire membership constituency Jewish.

The influx of Negroes into the Hill District (1917-1920) necessitated "a rearrangement of the whole plan of work for Kingsley House."* Finally the settlement moved its activities into East Liberty and has had no contact with the Hill District.

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* See "The Business of a City's Health", the Tuberculosis League of Pittsburgh. Bul. 3 Vol. IV. Pg. 41.

The Soho Community House at 2358 Fifth Avenue was founded in 1907. Although not in the Hill District, Soho is quite near and is the only House with a Negro membership. In July, 1929, there were 85 Negro members, 15.1% of its total membership.

The Soho House conducts the usual community house activities as is evidenced in its Report of Service from January 1st to June 30, 1929, presented herewith:

ATTENDANCE

Boys	18,109
Girls	5,770
Adults	689
Mixed Groups	1,446
Dental Clinic	76
Special Activities	684
Consultants	794
Library	16,320

The lack of an adequate gymnasium and of any large room for social gatherings has meant that practically no entertainments, dramatics, etc. could be undertaken. All the program work has, therefore, been done with very small groups. This has also meant that little work could be done with senior groups as we had little to interest them. However, the advantage has been the strengthening of the Junior Department.

Program

A. Clubs

1. Classes and clubs have been continued as before for:

White Boys	18
Colored Boys	5
White Girls	25
Colored Girls	1
Adults	4
Game Rooms	12
Boys and Girls Clubs	2
Total Groups	67

B. New activities

House Newspaper
Royal Orchestra (white)
Inter-club Reporters Club
Mixed Social Club
Colored Orchestra
Kindergarten

C. Continued activities

Athletics
Handcraft
Art
Glee Club
Folk Dancing
Social Dancing
Organized Club Programs
Woodwork
Jewelry
Stories
Dramatics
Cooking
Dental Clinic reopened May

Staff

Director
Boys' Worker
Assistant Boys' Worker
Girls' Worker
Office Secretary
32 volunteer workers recruited from the colleges and neighborhood

Membership (May 15, 1929)

White Boys	243
Colored Boys	45
White Girls	173
Colored Girls	26
Adults	72
	559

In a nationality survey of April 15, 1929, the Negro stood third with 70 out of 512 total enrollment. This was a decided drop from the preceding year when the Negroes were in the majority with 96 out of 514.

During the summer of 1929, the house at 2358 Fifth Avenue was entirely redecorated and somewhat remodeled to make it more efficient for settlement service. A gymnasium, an auditorium containing a model stage, and an out-door roof play court were built. Consequently, an increased program for the fall of 1929 was planned and carried out.

The investigator reports that the Negro members of the house are mainly children, although there is a mothers club with a membership of 12. None of the staff is Negro, but for many years a Negro has been the superintendent of the building. Formerly there were Negro workers for boys and girls. The director claims that it has been impossible to find anyone capable of replacing the former workers, and incompetent workers will not be employed. She insists that there is always a position for the competent person at Soho.

The Negro population is rapidly leaving the Soho district. During the spring of 1929 a large decrease was noted in the house membership, and a 50 per cent decrease in the enrollment of the Soho School.

Two or three years ago there appears to have been much race friction in the house. This, however, is abating and the relations gradually and naturally improving. Separate social affairs are held for white and colored, as well as are separate clubs. At present the play and recreation hours are not separated.

It is the opinion of the house director that the Negroes are particularly sensitive, it being difficult to make them understand that they are not being discriminated against. The antagonistic attitude they show is quite discouraging to the workers. Because of the lack of cooperation from Negro leaders and members of the community, it is felt that the work is not being appreciated. It is true, however, according to interviews made by the survey workers on the subject, that there are persons in the community including some former workers, who have expressed a decided dissatisfaction with the way the house's activities are conducted along separate racial lines. If the attitude and procedure has changed, these people have not been sufficiently informed.

In this connection might be mentioned two efforts for Negro community houses formerly existing in the Hill. The first of these, the Bryant Community Center, existed until two years ago in a large gymnasium in the annex of Grace Memorial Presbyterian Church on Arthur Street. Though supported by the Pittsburgh Presbytery it was non-sectarian. In 1927, the center had an enrollment of 193 children and 16 women. One paid worker and a few volunteers conducted all the activities. The weekly program for this center was as follows:

Monday— Women's Classes in painting, lampshade making, gymnasium periods for boys and girls aged 12 to 20.

Tuesday— Organized play for boys and girls aged 6 to 10.

Wednesday—Women use pool at Soho Baths
Boys' swimming at Soho Baths
Girls' Basketball

Thursday— Girls' sewing—woodwork
Boys—organized play

Friday— Competitive games—boys and girls

The old Morgan Community House was at one time an outstanding effort for Negro recreation in the Hill District. It was started by the Baptist Home Missions in 1919, and, while administered by a board of whites and Negroes, served mainly the Negro. Kingsley House turned over its old quarters rent free for five years to the organization which conducted the following activities:

Kindergarten and Day Nursery
Free clinic and legal service
Clubs and classes
Gymnasium
Movies and Entertainments
A temporary home for men (Provident House)
Court Service (Morals Court)

It was an ambitious undertaking. A staff of four paid workers carried on the program with the assistance of several volunteers.

In 1924, the House moved its activities to a much smaller location on Fullerton Street—on the site of Provident House. It was forced to discontinue many activities, and its activity diminished to a minimum. The chief reasons for its failure appeared to be financial. Other reasons have been ventured, however, among them being the many difficulties arising from denominational control which made for factions among the Negroes and a fluctuating material and moral support. However, it is felt that the fact of so-called denominational control (all that the American Baptist Home Mission Society did was to pay the bills; the control was almost entirely vested in the local Board of Direction which was not denominational) was used as an excuse for lack of cooperation by others. It is believed that conditions are better now for cooperative enterprises.

The efforts of churches in the district have been treated in other sections of this report.

The fear of inter-racial contacts, and probable racial conflicts along with a rather determined effort on the part of some agencies to segregate Negroes is largely responsible for the inadequate recreational facilities in the Hill. The inactivity of the Negro group in this respect is likewise outstanding. Women suffer from this inadequacy probably more than men. Every organization working with Negro women in the Hill District has been forced to resort to make-shift arrangements for their benefit. The nine hours a week available at the Beulah Kennard pool to women during the summer have decreased the disadvantages only slightly. No gymnasium space is available.

The dearth of camp sites and the problems faced in securing camp privileges for Negro children present another acute problem. In fact so unusual is an opportunity of this kind that when one social worker having received a letter asking that there be submitted a list of children known to that organization who would wish camp privileges, replied—"Your recent letter regarding children known to our organization who would desire to attend your summer camp was undoubtedly sent to us by mistake. We handle only colored children." It was an error. However, after two drastic

changes in the camp arrangements colored children were permitted to attend the last week of camp.

The annual public school picnics are well attended by both groups, but many cases arise similar to the one reported as happening at that of the Watt Street School when the white girls and boys could use the pavillion for dancing and the Negroes were denied the privilege by the management.

While blanket indictments of Negro parents are often made that they teach the children racial prejudices and intolerance, it may be seen that with such situations facing Negro youth before they have entered high school, parental influence can at most be only one of the factors.

Organized Athletics

There was a colored community industrial league during the years 1927-1928, 1928-1929, which was composed of eight teams, two of which were from the Hill District. Basketball was the chief sport in which they were engaged.

In 1927, there were 20 amateur basketball teams distributed throughout Pittsburgh, 6 of which were in the Hill.

Commercial Recreation*

Pool Rooms

There are 21 licensed pool rooms with 111 tables generally patronized by Negroes in the Hill District. On the basis of an 8 hour recreational day, 3,552 Negro males in the Hill may play in foursomes for one hour a day. Apart from the wholesale recreation provided by the theatres, this form of recreation is by far the most elaborate in the Hill.

Not all of the places visited were of an undesirable type. Some parlors were acceptable in their decorum and personnel, others were hangouts and "blinds." Professional players come to some of the parlors and are widely advertised, while side bets in the majority of games were not unusual.

Minors were found in three establishments, while in one a woman was seen playing.

Theatres

The seven moving picture houses and theatres in the Hill have a total seating capacity of 2500—enough seating space to permit every one in the Hill attending one show at least once a week.

With one exception these theatres are moving picture houses. The Elmore Theatre, the exception, combines with the picture, Negro vaudeville. The prices of admission range from 10 to 50 cents. The Roosevelt Theatre was the only one presenting sound features at the time of the study. More recently the Elmore Theatre closed for repairs incidental to the installment of a sound machine. The majority of the theatres show inferior and out of date pictures.

Segregation even to the point of exclusion is the general policy in all of the large theatres in Pittsburgh. The Nixon Theatre is the most liberal of all theatres in its policy on Negro admission.

Cabarets

Though there are three cabarets in the Hill District catering to Negro patronage, the chief attractions of this sort for the group are located in the East End section and in Homestead. The Hill places are located in the upper and mid sections of the Third Ward and are chiefly "rough and tum-

* See Chapter on Crime and Delinquency.

ble" affairs with piano, dance floor and entertainer. Club Alabam, also in the Hill and sometimes classed as a "black and tan" resort, has a large white patronage, and is not frequented to any great extent by the Negroes.

Dance Halls

With the exception of the Knights of Pythias Hall on Center Avenue, the facilities for holding private dances are very poor from the point of view of adequateness and cleanliness. The other buildings in the city which are chiefly used are Labor Lyceum (a temporary labor lyceum which may be converted back into lodge rooms at any time), Liberty Gardens, Linden Grove, and Duquesne Garden.

Regarding commercial entertainment for Negroes in Pittsburgh, Douthitt's study* makes the following statement. "In 1926, there were 55 licensed dance halls and 6 cabarets—varying all the way from a fairly good type of place with cover charge and some entertainemnt to a mere hovel of a place in some dark cellar where there is music furnished and a space cleared for dancing. At most places girls come unescorted often paying their own admission, having an evening's entertainment, and returning home. Miss Sarah McClanahan, a Negro policewoman of the city department, states that some sort of age limit is required, but very feebly enforced and usually treated in a haphazard, negligent manner. The dis-

TABLE R 1

Where and How Adults Reported Spending Their Leisure Time

Home	105
Movies	51
Church	33
Reading	24
Dancing	20
Cards	19
Shows	15
Visiting	10
Sewing	9
Lodge	8
Talking	6
Parks	5
Auto Riding	5
Resting	3
Piano	3
Ball game	3
Playing victrola	2
Radio	2
Street corners	2
Club meeting	2
Walking	2
Gardening	1
School	1
Repairing house	1
Gambling	1
Sleeping	1
Shopping	1
Housework	1
Baseball	1
Drinking	1
Y. M. C. A.	1
Pool room	1
No Leisure	2
Total	342

* Social and Recreational Opportunities for the Negro in Pittsburgh. Thesis by Mildred Douthitt and Adeline Vatz. Pennsylvania College for Women, 1927.

trict where most of these are located is the Hill District from Webster Avenue to the side streets, from Fullerton Street down to Congress Street.

USE OF LEISURE TIME

The following information is obtained from family questionnaires filled in by 6 investigators who visited 216 homes. A reconnaisance was made of the types of communities in the Hill District on the basis of physical and social environment. Typical blocks from these areas were secured and the homes located in these blocks investigated. Tables R1 and R2—as well as many others in the survey—utilize the information collected.

TABLE R 2

Where and How Children 10-16 Years of Age Reported Spending Their Leisure Time

Playing around home	77
Movies and theatre	40
Dances	12
Playing in parks and streets	11
Church	9
Playing at neighbors	6
Card parties	6
Auto riding	5
Reading	4
Y. M. C. A.	4
Radio	3
Swimming	3
Amusements	1
Visiting	1
Total	182

The interests of the children attending Moorhead School are well analyzed in the following report of a study made by the principal of that school.*

The leisure enjoyments are:

	Colored	White
Reading	6%	38%
Games	3%	10%
Drawing	11%	5%
Sewing	4%	6%
Singing	8%	0%
Dancing	22%	0%
Making things	10%	9%

Other leisure occupations mentioned by colored children are:

Boys: Play, Movies, Study, Library, Walking.
Girls: Movies, Study, Play, Visiting, Library, Music, Walking.

Other leisure occupations mentioned by white children are:

Boys: Play, Movies, Study, Irene Kaufmann Settlement, Walking.
Girls: Movies, Study, Play, Irene Kaufmann Settlement, Library, Music and Walking.

Lists of the magazines read by these children show that both, white and colored, read the True Story, the Saturday Evening Post, the Red Cross, and the Movie Magazines. In their lists of magazines there is little or no distinction found between preferences of Negro and white children. The difference is rather between male and female as the girls prefer love-story and home-making magazines, while the boys prefer those that deal with adventure, science, and sports.

* "A Study of the Children of the Moorhead School," 1927, Ray Huff, Principal.

X. THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

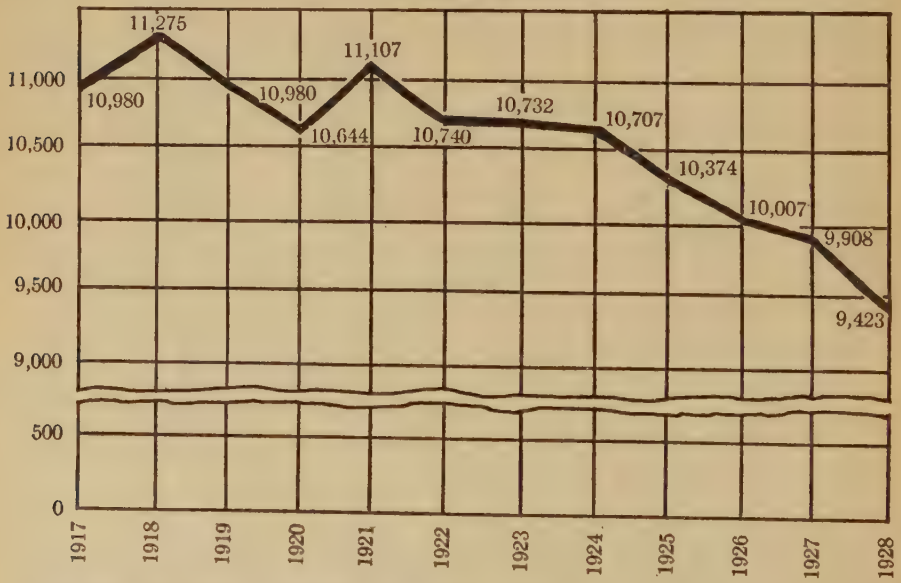
Since 1874, the colored children of Pittsburgh have attended the public schools with the white children. On January 1, 1928, there were 11,533 Negro children enrolled in the Pittsburgh Schools, a number representing 7.1% of the total pupils. Thirty-nine per cent of the total number of school children were enrolled in the elementary schools of the Hill District.

More recent information from the Division of Statistics of the Board of Education gives the total public school enrollment for 1928-1929 as 116,243. Of this number 74,864 were in the elementary grades and 41,379 in high school. There were 10,690 school children enrolled for the year; 8,724 of whom were in the elementary schools and 1,966 in the high schools. Of the elementary school population 11.6% were Negroes, but only 4.7% of the High and Junior High School enrollment were of that group. Twenty-two of the 225 children enrolled in the open air schools were Negro. With Somers School now devoted to trade work (93.3% of the enrollment is Negro) the total trade enrollment for Negroes mounted to 235 or 9% of the total trade school enrollment.

Elementary Schools

The trend in Negro enrollment in the Hill District is shown in the following table of schools visited by the Urban League school visitor. The statistics were secured from the Division of Statistics of the Board of Education, City of Pittsburgh.

TREND OF TOTAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN THE HILL DISTRICT 1917-1928



The proportional increase in Negro enrollment is significant because of the fact that since 1921 the loss in total enrollment in these schools has been accelerating. Engineers selected by the Board of Education to study the physical standards of the Pittsburgh schools in 1927 believed that this

TABLE E 1

Total and Negro Enrollment and Per Cent Negro in Elementary Schools in the Hill District 1924-25 to 1928-29

School	Year 1924-1925			Year 1925-1926			Year 1926-1927			Year 1927-1928			Year 1928-1929		
	Total Enrollment	Total Negro Enroll.	Per Cent Negro	Total Enrollment	Total Negro Enroll.	Per Cent Negro	Total Enrollment	Total Negro Enroll.	Per Cent Negro	Total Enrollment	Total Negro Enroll.	Per Cent Negro	Total Enrollment	Total Negro Enroll.	Per Cent Negro
Forbes	991	40	4.0	886	33	3.73	938	52	5.54	985	48	4.87	966	19	1.96
Franklin	1158	386	33.3	1037	429	41.36	1017	487	47.88	929	471	50.69	820	460	56.1
Hancock	504	0	0	535	40	7.47	601	35	5.82	558	36	6.45	182	16	8.79
Letsche	596	252	42.2	612	300	49.01	613	304	49.59	566	330	58.30	525	224	42.66
Madison	748	84	11.2	772	89	11.52	811	116	14.33	848	222	26.18	604	129	21.35
Miller	931	172	18.47	878	150	17.08	920	284	30.86	910	253	27.8	863	227	26.30
Minersville	557	265	47.5	548	273	49.83	561	252	44.91	547	273	49.90	423	287	67.84
Moorhead	913	343	37.5	854	332	38.87	774	377	48.7	717	370	51.60	694	400	57.8
McKelvey	1162	407	35.8	1165	334	28.66	1178	498	42.27	1116	489	43.81	1018	491	48.23
Rose	718	413	57.5	715	435	60.83	735	665	90.47	700	424	60.57	606	552	91.1
Soho	809	249	30.77	908	275	30.28	896	267	29.77	831	270	32.49	679	195	28.7
Somers	429	300	69.92	354	284	80.22	327	273	83.48	347	277	79.82	165	155	93.93
Watt	1177	981	83.3	1165	1029	88.32	1124	1019	90.65	1161	1031	88.80	966	916	94.82
TOTAL	10693	3892	36.4	10429	4003	38.38	10495	4729	46.0	10215	4494	43.70	8511	4071	49.19

acceleration would continue. The decreased enrollment shown is made more evident in the accompanying graph. The report of the Survey on Physical Standards of the Pittsburgh Schools, set the perfect standard of a school at 1000 points, distributed and evaluated as follows:

	Perfect Score
Class rooms	500
Wardrobe storage	50
Administration (including office, book supply and teachers' room)	100
General toilets	50
Kindergarten	80
Play rooms	60
Assembly room	100
Playground	60
Total	1,000

The total score received by any school was arbitrarily called its Educational Efficiency Rating. The report recommended that no elementary school having a rating below 750 be used permanently.

The following ratings were scored by schools in the Hill District:

Forbes	668	Moorhead	500
Franklin	583	McKelvey	972
Hancock	288	Rose	536
Letsche	673	Soho	606
Madison	545	Somers	350
Miller	661	Watt	906
Minersville	287		

Only two schools in the district, McKelvey and Watt, have a rating higher than the dead line of 750 points.

An abstract of the findings on individual schools illuminate the points.

THE MINERSVILLE SCHOOL at Center Avenue and Morgan Streets was built in 1859. An annex was built in 1873. It is not easily administered, its playground is inadequate. It is practically impossible to raise its efficiency rating of 287.

THE HANCOCK SCHOOL located at Seventh Avenue and Webster Avenue was built in 1874. It is entirely surrounded by business and occupies the entire lot. Lights are necessary in many rooms during the day. There is no playground and it is impossible to raise its efficiency.

FRANKLIN SCHOOL at Franklin and Logan Streets was built in 1890. It is located on a steep hillside with streets on three sides. Because of property values in this neighborhood, it is impossible to raise its efficiency rating. There is no playground.

THE MILLER SCHOOL, built in 1905, lacks an assembly room and playroom facilities. There is practically no play space. It is suggested that a roof playground be established—such an expenditure being well worth while.

LETSCHE SCHOOL at Bedford and Fullerton Streets was built in 1905. Recommended that a roof playground be built here.

SOMERS SCHOOL at Somers Street and Webster Avenue was built in 1887. The engineers report "it is economically undesirable to completely fireproof the building." Practically nothing can be done to modernize it in any way. (This school has now been made a trade school.)

MOORHEAD SCHOOL, Granville at Enoch Street, was built in 1868. An addition was made in 1907. It was closed in 1912 for extensive repairs that would permit its occupancy for twelve years. The playground is wholly inadequate and it is impossible to raise the educational efficiency rating.

ROSE SCHOOL at Rose and Charles Streets, was built in 1892. It is modern only in its fireproof construction and is located on a steep hillside. Its surroundings prevent raising the educational efficiency rating.

MADISON SCHOOL at Milwaukee and Orion Streets was built in 1891. Its surroundings are ideal for school purposes as it is located near the Herron Hill Park. Its educational efficiency rating can be raised to 900 through the purchase of additional property and the installation of the platoon system.

THE WATT SCHOOL at Watt Street and Webster Avenue was built in 1914. It was designed for 700 pupils under the old plan. Under the platoon system it carries 1,100. Though it is among the best buildings in the city, the educational efficiency rating is impaired by lack of play space and the cluttering of such space as is available by excessive apparati.

MCKELVEY SCHOOL, Bedford Avenue, was built in 1915. It was designed for 700 pupils under the old plan, but under the platoon system now houses 1,100. The educational efficiency rating of this building is impaired by the use of basement rooms for instruction purposes.

The following information from the elementary schools in the district gives a more intimate picture of Negro life in the area treated:

1. That the moral and general social environment in the district is not the best.
2. That there is an excessive number of retarded Negro children.
3. That the proportion of Negroes in the school population is increasing.
4. That playground space with supervision is an imminent need.
5. That insofar as they are able, Negro parents are quite cooperative.

Other statements and suggestions offered point to a need for definite remedial action in specific instances.

MOORHEAD SCHOOL had an enrollment of 328 white and 343 Negro students in April, 1929. The white enrollment is almost entirely Jewish. The Negro element of the school population is increasing relatively all the time. This school is in one of the shabbiest sections of the Hill. There is no playground at the school, and no place other than the streets for children to play. A playground and a day nursery are urgently needed. Over half the Negro mothers work outside the home. Fights are common. The colored boys fight each other. There is little friction between the races. There is a good deal of petty pilfering. The rents are exorbitant for the accommodations offered. Lodgers are taken in many of the homes. Loose marital relations appear characteristic of the group.

There is a turnover of 70% annually in Moorhead's enrollment. A large number of Negro children are over age. In the four special classes for retarded and mentally deficient, there are many Negroes. Many are recent arrivals from the South. The cooperation of parents is not all it should be. There is no parent-teachers association. The Kindergarten Mothers' Club is well attended.

THE WATT SCHOOL is housed in a modern building. A playground equipped with horses, bars and other equipment for children, is paved and small, but it is arranged that the children use the playground at certain hours. Mr. Batchelor of the City Bureau of Recreation adds that owing to the limited space and large number in attendance, the use of the equipment is extremely dangerous and many accidents have occurred. The removal of the unused frames is an urgent necessity, especially in view of the great need for play space in this district. The city uses and supervises

the summer playground. On one side of the school is a model kitchen garden. The thing most needed is visiting teachers.

The families in this vicinity are about as "well off" as any working class group in the city. There is little overcrowding of dwellings. The chief problems of the Negro are economic. The 150 white pupils are children of the neighborhood business men supported by the parents of the 850 Negro pupils. The cooperation of parents in matters of discipline is all that could be desired.

HERRON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL. This is the first year of operation for Herron High School. It comprises grades 7, 8 and 9, with an enrollment of approximately 1200, which is 40% Negro. Recreation as far as school is concerned is adequately cared for. The facilities include a swimming pool, two gymnasiums and an athletic field. There are two physical directors for each sex.

Practically no race friction exists in the school. Some fighting goes on, especially that of colored girls among themselves. Negroes are well represented on athletic teams—out of all proportion to the enrollment. During the year the awards for "good sportsmanship" went to Negro pupils—one boy and one girl. These awards are made by vote of the student body. The cooperation of parents in matters of discipline is "uniformly good." There is no parent-teachers association.

Some problems:

SHIFTLESSNESS: Many students come with no aim. Some come for the prestige derived from being in high school.

TARDINESS: Partly indifference, partly due to the fact that children are left at home alone while both parents go to work. The principal permits the calling of no unpleasant names. No "kidding" about race. No differences allowed.

Several trades and crafts are taught for both boys and girls. There are four men and four women on the vocational staff.

WILLIAM H. MCKELVY SCHOOL. The year's enrollment was 1,124; 491 of the pupils were Negroes (229 boys and 262 girls)—approximately 44% of the total enrollment.

Playground facilities are located on a large lot at the rear of the school. There is equipment for volley ball and basketball. The playground could be made of more service. The building had been used by club groups up to this year. Play during school hours in the playground and in the two play rooms is adequately supervised by regular members of the school staff. The children's poor home environment is reflected in behavior problems, but the cooperation of parents when appealed to is excellent. Negro boys fight a great deal among themselves, but very little with the white boys.

The turnover of pupils is nearly 50% per year, because of the instability of the neighborhood. People are always moving. The Negro proportion of the population is on the increase, many of the newcomers being from the South.

One girl of sixteen is in the Fifth Grade.

A night school for adults is operated 24 weeks a year. Fifty per cent of the attendance is Negro.

The chief problem among the day pupils is tardiness. This is responsible for much retardation. Tardiness is believed to be due to the fact that parents leave home for work before the children go to school.

THE ROSE SCHOOL has a total enrollment of 606. A very large percentage of the enrollment, in the last few years, has been Negro. The neighborhood has deteriorated. Rural Negroes from Alabama and Georgia are moving in. The school has new Negroes every month. The morality of the district is low and the morality of the children, especially the girls, correspondingly so. There are occasional forced marriages and unmarried mothers among girls 14 and 15 years old. The playground facilities are poor; the building, old. There is one physical director each for boys and girls.

There is now no parent-teachers association, although Rose School was one of the first in the city to have one. The interest dwindled and it died. Mothers' meeting once each month is well attended. There is good cooperation from those who have lived in the neighborhood a long time, but educational work among the newcomers is needed. The principal is energetic and does a great deal of neighborhood work herself, keeping in touch with the Family-Welfare Association and other organizations to obtain relief for needy families revealed through the needs of the children. There is a difficulty in the colored children having money that they do not know how to spend.

There is a great deal of tardiness due to the fact that often adults are not at home when school time arrives. Formerly there was a merit system of awarding banners to rooms not having any tardy pupils, but this was discontinued.

In LETSCHE SCHOOL there are 224 Negroes in a total of 525 pupils. Play space for young people is one of the greatest needs of the district. Although Washington Park is fairly near, it is not suitable for young children because of the rough element of large boys and men that frequent it. The great problem of the school is with boys about 14 years of age. They become discouraged and indifferent and listless because of lack of outlet for physical energy, lose interest in studies and leave school as soon as possible. They make discipline difficult.

The school has an auditorium which is used in winter for basketball games by outside teams.

HANCOCK SCHOOL. This is a special school with classes for foreign-born adults and children. Only four classes for children are maintained—kindergarten through the third grade. There are 145 children enrolled, 12 of whom are Negro. There are only 12 children of native-born white parentage.

Problems with Negro children include stealing and truancy. Some of the Negro families in the district are of the criminal class. The cooperation of parents is poor.

There is no play space at the school and nowhere for small children to play in the neighborhood, which is very near the business district. Some of the homes from which the children come are poor and often immoral or criminal.

FRANKLIN SCHOOL has a total enrollment of approximately 800, half of whom are Negroes. It is in the midst of a vice and bootlegging district, and the evil is flaunted before the children. There is no play space at all. The school is pre-vocational, having trade and craft shops for boys and girls to the eighth grade.

Negro children have a large number of retarded ones among them (no estimate of proportion). These are retarded one to three years. Many are in the pre-vocational department—some transferred from other schools. Retardation is due to (1) fact that a large number began school in the South, (2) indifference of parents, (3) indifference of older children.

The whole environment is depressing. There is no play space and vice and crime are rampant.

MINERSVILLE SCHOOL. It is believed that recreational needs for the children in this district are being adequately met as to the boys by the Center Avenue Y. M. C. A., which cooperates with the school. The girls are not well provided for. A vacation school will take care of any children under twelve. Craft classes and games are to be provided. A library teacher to work with girls has been suggested, but the Recreation Commission would not provide adequate salary.

No problems of discipline were reported. Parents cooperate excellently.

There are paved courts about 20 feet by 40 feet on each side of the school, but no equipment. The play space is evidently inadequate.

Educational Status

In 1925, a graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh* made a study of the educational status of the Negro public school child, basing his data on investigations made in the Watt and Minersville Schools. While its findings are not conclusive, they are indicative of the Hill problem, since the data covered 9% of the Negro school population.

The age-grade distribution of white and colored pupils for the Minersville schools showed that the per cent of over-age pupils among colored was 2½ times greater than among the whites.

	Under Aged	Normal Aged	Over Aged
Colored	5.7	44.8	49.5
White	11.1	70.1	18.8

A comparison of the colored pupils at Watt School with those of Minersville showed little statistical difference.

	Under Aged	Normal Aged	Over Aged
Watt	4.5	46.5	49.0
Minersville	5.7	44.8	49.5

The Public School and the Community

There is no doubt that the public schools present many interesting complications to the Negro citizens. For years there have been constant efforts on their part to remedy through the Board of Education and municipal officers, certain alleged discriminations and acts of short-sightedness.

The original draft of the survey contained an article that appeared in the Pittsburgh Courier (Negro weekly) for January 28, 1928, entitled "School Visitors Say Conditions in Hill District are Shocking." The article had to do with efforts of the board of school visitors of the Third Ward to have the Board of Education install frosted windows in the domestic science department of Franklin School. The purpose of the frosted glass was to shield the eyes of the pupils from the orgies alleged to have been conducted in the vicinity.

One group of Negroes in Pittsburgh feels that the education problems of the Negro child would be solved if Negro teachers were permitted to teach in the Pittsburgh schools. Another group, however, feels that the introduction of colored teachers would create separate schools for Negro children, as is now the situation in Philadelphia where Negro elementary

* Dean S. Yarbrough, M. A. Thesis—"Educational Status of Negro Public School Children as Reflecting Economic and Social Problems."

pupils attend separate schools. Segregated schools are not desired by either of these groups.

In a study of vocational opportunities for Negro students (1928)*, it was found that there were 63 students who wanted to follow teaching as a career—up to that time eight Negro girls had graduated from the H. C. Frick Training School for Teachers, the last two graduating in 1922. To date not one has been appointed in the Pittsburgh schools.

The High Schools

There are twelve hundred and sixty-seven Negro pupils in the High Schools of Pittsburgh. About 50% of this number are enrolled in Schenley and Westinghouse Schools. While the percent of Negroes in the total enrollment is smaller in the High Schools than in the elementary schools, the problems of the Negro pupils become greater. Aside from the general social contacts which become more racial in aspect, there are problems in vocational guidance and adjustment which are very pressing problems for teacher and student.

TABLE E 2

Enrollment of Negro Pupils in High Schools of Pittsburgh 1923-1929

SCHOOL	1923–24	1924–25	1925–26	1926–27	1927–28	1928–29
Allegheny	56	53	31	33	49	...
Fifth Avenue	113	128	123	181	141	163
Business	20	17	22	22	25	...
Langley, S. P.	21	33	42	35	38	...
Oliver, D. B.	158	44	71	71	55	...
Peabody	127	183	151	137	200	...
Schenley	334	289	325	295	305	160
Herron Hill	...	...	...	...	...	519
South Side	7	15	22	24	28	...
South Hills	42	40	33	36	43	...
Westinghouse	208	378	354	497	437	425
Carrick	...	...	...	...	...	...
Alderdice, Taylor	...	...	...	...	2	...
Knoxville	...	...	...	2	2	...
TOTAL	1086	1180	1174	1333	1325	1267

A further index of the difficulties facing teacher, student and parent in vocational advice for Negro High School students is shown in Mr. Covington's study. There is no doubt that in many of these cases when the Negro pupil has applied to the Vocational Counselor for counsel regarding these occupations, he has found that the counselor knew far less about the opportunities than the student himself. There is no doubt that the average "Vocational Guidance Week" is an empty gesture so far as the Negro pupil in the public school, and even in the university and colleges, is concerned. There the Negro pupil selects his own career, or has one selected for him to fit the range of occupations wherein he may be easily placed. This latter fact is undoubtedly the technique employed by the Pittsburgh Public School System when Negro boys are encouraged to take automobile training.

The occupational choice for 430 Negro high school students as found in the aforementioned study follows:

* "Occupational Choices in Relation to Economic Opportunities of Negro Youth in Pittsburgh."—Floyd C. Covington.

Table E 3

Distribution of Total Number of Occupational Choices of 430 Negro High School Students

Occupational Choice	Total	Per Cent
Teacher	62	14.28
Stenographer, Business, Etc.	56	12.90
Musician, Music as Profession	31	7.14
Nurse	27	6.22
Doctor	25	5.76
Dressmaker	24	5.52
Pharmacist	22	5.06
Mechanic	13	2.99
Dentist	10	2.30
Bookkeeper, Accountant, Etc.	9	2.07
Civil Service—clerks, carriers, etc.	8	1.84
Electrician	6	1.38
Lawyer	6	1.38
Seamstress	6	1.38
Social worker	5	1.12
Electrical Engineer	4	.92
Mechanical Engineer	4	.92
Machinist	4	.92
Artist, carpenter, barber, each 3	9	2.07
Funeral director, milliner, real estate agent, sign painter, aesthetic dancer, interior decorator, each 2	12	2.76
Athletic coach, orator, beauty culturist, plumber, hairdresser, embalmer, minister, journalist, scientific agriculturist, lather, landscape painter, shoemaker, printer, plasterer, steam engineer, librarian, each 1	16	3.68
No choice	59	13.57
No reply	12	2.76
Total	430	98.94

Among the problems given by Negro families was this statement: "The Negro community would be much better off if some employment was provided for our girls after they finish high school that would keep them from working as domestics for rich white folk." The following distribution of occupations for 282 Negro high school girls shows just what a problem this is to the girl who is seeking a better type of work.

Table E 4*

Present Type of Work of 282 Negro High School Girls of Pittsburgh

Type of Work	Frequency	Per Cent
General Housework	101	35.85
Maids	57	20.21
Did not say	29	10.28
Waitress	21	7.44
Sheetwriter	8	2.87
Laundress	6	2.12
Dishwasher	5	1.80
Nurse	4	1.41
Cook	4	1.41
Stock girl	3	1.06
Office girl	3	1.06
Cleaning helper, stenographer, elevator operator, duster, checker, presser, seamstress, tailor, child nurse, 2 each	18	6.38

* Tables E 4 and E 5 from "Occupational Choices of Negro Girls in Pittsburgh," Edna M. Kinchion.

Baker, cashier, machine operator, welfare worker, wrapper, clipper, kitchen girl, power machine operator, drug store clerk, bookkeeper, restaurant girl, mother's helper, sandwich girl, Penn Trouser worker, linen girl, teacher, hotel helper, hairdresser, bottle labeler, salad girl, saleslady, clerk, pantry girl, 1 each	23	8.05
Total	282	99.94

When the type of work which they are forced to do is compared with the type of occupation ambition which these girls have, there is a marked discrepancy. The mathematical chance for their following these occupations is very small unless they leave the city of Pittsburgh.

TABLE E 5

Occupational Ambition of 274 Negro High School Girls of Pittsburgh

Type of Occupational Ambition	Frequency	Per Cent
Stenographers	55	20.08
Teachers	54	19.60
Music	30	10.94
Seamstress	29	10.59
Nurse	27	9.75
Did not know	19	6.93
Pharmacist	14	5.11
Bookkeeper	13	4.75
Singer	4	1.50
Doctor	3	1.10
Interior Decorator	3	1.10
Typist	3	1.10
Milliner	3	1.10
Dancer	3	1.10
Social worker	2	.73
Designer	2	.73
Scientific Agriculturist, Practical Arts, Druggist, Journalist, Lawyer, Beauty Culturist, Hairdresser, Librarian, Historian, Artist, 1 each	10	3.70
Total	274	99.91

Trade Schools

Of particular moment is the fact that during the 1928-29 session, the Somers School was converted into a trade school. This is momentous because a new trade school is being erected in the Third Ward. That this will affect the Negro child to any great extent is to be doubted. While there is a tacit assumption that the Negro enrollment in trade schools cannot exceed the percentage Negro in the total enrollment (approximately 9%) the enrollment so far has been less than one per cent. In April, 1928, there were 1,830 white boys and 20 colored enrolled in Pittsburgh trade schools. In the Girls' Vocational School, however, there were 300 white girls and 57 colored. The difference in percentage enrollments between colored boys and girls is in all probability due to the apprenticeship training which is not necessary for the girls. Some attempt to indicate what possibilities there are for the Negro boy and girl in Pittsburgh has been made by E. E. Spanabel, Counselor at Fifth Avenue High School.

"Opportunities for the Colored Children of Pittsburgh for Those Dropping Out of School Before Completing the Eighth Grade."

Boys	Girls
Shoe shiners	Power machine operators (for those having nimble fingers)
Office boys	Housework
Messenger boys	
Bus boys	
Newsboys	

For Those Completing the Eighth Grade

Boys	Girls
Office boys	Maids in beauty parlors
Messengers	Office girls for doctors
In industry—	Nurse girls
Iron and steel trades	Hotel maids
Electrical	Sheet writers
Moulders	
Helpers to moulders	
Machine hands	
Punch press operators	
Helpers and heaters	
Miners	

For Those Completing High School Courses

Boys	Girls
Assistants in laboratories (chemical, etc.)	Stenographers for colored business men
Insurance for Negroes	Stenographers for (Negro) doctors
Civil Service	Qualified social workers
Mill workers	Seamstresses or dressmakers
	Recreational workers
	Nurse girls
	Milliners

For Those With College Education

Many opportunities are open in the following for those willing to leave Pittsburgh for employment:

PROFESSIONAL

Ministry	Pharmacy	Y. W. C. A. Secretaries
Dentistry	Teaching	Y. M. C. A. Secretaries
Medicine	Law	Welfare workers
	Engineering	Chemistry

INDUSTRIAL

In Building and Metal Trades
Industrial secretaries for large business organizations employing a large number of colored people
Contractors
Electricians

Insurance among colored people
Real Estate among colored people
Accounting and secretarial work for colored firms
Bankers
Salesmen

Higher Education

For the year 1929 the Registrar of the University of Pittsburgh reported 108 Negro students and 19 graduates. For the same period Carnegie Institute of Technology reported 5 Negro students and 1 graduate. During the term 1927-28 in all departments of the University of Pittsburgh there were 114 Negro students distributed as follows: 60 in the College of Liberal Arts, 4 in the School of Engineering, 10 in the School of Education, 9 in the Graduate School, 4 in the Dental School, 10 in the Pharmaceutical College and 15 in the Evening Division.

At the Carnegie Institute of Technology there were 24 colored students— 6 in the day division and 18 in the evening division. They were pursuing the following courses: 2 native African students were taking commercial engineering and engineering industries respectively, one girl was taking painting and decorating, another music. The remaining students were males, and following such courses as printing, auto mounting and operation, masonry, carpentry, architecture, drafting and sculptural drafting. At Duff's Business College there were 4 students enrolled taking shorthand and bookkeeping. Duquesne University had 23 colored students pursuing courses—7 in the Liberal Arts College, 4 in the School of Music, and 7 in the high schools.

With one exception, the local advantages so far as secondary education in Pittsburgh is concerned are quite adequate for the Negro population. That exception is medicine. The University of Pittsburgh is the only school in the city in which this training may be received, yet there has not been a Negro student in Medical School since 1914. The first Negro was graduated in 1894, the last, 1914. In 1922, a Negro student made application to enter, but received a letter from the Dean refusing admission without explanation. The school maintains that there is no discrimination because of color, and the reason no Negro student has been admitted is because those applying have not been scholastically fit. Graduates of the institution, however, maintain that several well-qualified students have made application, but were denied admission on different pretexts. They volunteer the opinion that because Negroes lack a hospital of their own, they were not admitted to the school where it would be necessary to permit advanced training in hospitalization in the local hospitals of the city, a privilege which is not accorded to practicing Negro physicians in Pittsburgh.

Visiting Teachers

In the period immediately following the migration of Negroes to Pittsburgh, the Pittsburgh Urban League interested itself in the problems of adjustment facing the principals of these schools and the new families. For more than eight years this work has been carried on by a young woman who graduated from the Henry C. Frick Training School for Teachers, but was unable to secure an appointment as a teacher. This worker, despite many obstacles, has secured the cooperation of thirteen schools in the Hill District, and aside from functioning as a constructive agent for the school and home, has been the medium through which many

graduates of the public schools and high schools in Pittsburgh have been given new incentive. The annual banquet given by the Urban League for the graduates of the public schools in Pittsburgh is an event of no small importance in these young people's lives. The opinion of this worker on the schools which she visits in the district is as follows:*

> "In the Hill District, parents and teachers are often not on friendly terms. Parents as a rule visit the school only when sent for, and their attitude is not one of cooperation. In spite of this, in 1925, when one of the schools had a parents' visiting day, over half of the parents who visited the school were colored.
>
> "In the East End district where the colored people are generally of a higher type than those of the Hill District, the parents are more cooperative. In one instance, a colored mother continues to attend the Kindergarten Mothers' Meeting, though all of her children are now in high school."

The object of the study from which the above material is quoted was to find out how many colored boys and girls from the South had been registered for the first time in the Pittsburgh School district from September to December, 1927.

The study included 305 people—120 of 133 reported school children. During that year 14 families came to Pittsburgh directly from Georgia. Thirty-four per cent of the men, 28.9% of the women, and 50% of the children came directly from birth state to Pittsburgh.

Of the 80 family groups, only eight came to Pittsburgh during the year. Of the 165 children in the study, 75, or 45.4%, came during the year. In some instances they were sent North to relatives to live with them and go to school.

Efforts are being made at present to have a colored visiting teacher appointed by the Board of Education to continue the work started by the Urban League. At the time of this study, certain difficulties had arisen over the training, experience and remuneration. Though the persons interested in securing this teacher express great hope, the appointment, it appears, will only be made as a palliative action to prevent the immediate appointment of colored teachers.

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*"A Study of the Families of New Registrants in the Public Schools of the Hill District," 1927, The Pittsburgh Urban League.

XI. THE COMMUNITY AND ITS ORGANIZATIONS

In Pittsburgh there were found various types of Negro organizations which may be classified as

1. Those whose roots reach down into the masses of Negro population and
2. Those having no roots.

Under the first group appears the church which has been treated in the next section of this report. The size of this institution's income, and its large membership are indicative of the hold it has on the Negro population. A significant change in the Church influence in the community is noted in the growth of social programs by various institutions. Despite the fact that only a few ministers appear willing to undertake such programs, the growth of activities in the last five years has been remarkable. Offsetting this advance has been the rapid rise of the "storefront" church organizations, often resultant of split organizations, with no social programs.* Although the Negro church has been considered reactionary in its social attitudes, there is greater emphasis on its social mission by the larger institutions.

The aggregate membership of Negroes in lodges in Pittsburgh is more than 10,000. These organizations are of all types, many of them being financially strong and with well managed business affairs.

Recently the Knights of Pythias lodge of Pennsylvania erected a four-story brick structure at the corner of Center Avenue and Dinwiddie Street at a cost of $270,000. The designing and supervision of construction was by a local Negro architect. This building is used for lodge meetings, social affairs, athletic events, and has business sites on the street floor. The Elks also maintain a Rest on Center Avenue near Junilla Street. The loss of the effectiveness of secret rituals and initiations of the lodges, apparently are causing these bodies to turn towards more constructive work in the community, a field in which they have hitherto done little or nothing.

THE WOMEN'S CLUBS in Pittsburgh** have been particularly active in social movements in the city. In proportion to their membership, these clubs have done more in a community way than any other group. Their programs have become constructive and positive along practical lines. Not only are they making efforts to remedy untoward conditions, but they are endeavoring to stimulate forces to bring improved conditions about, while some are providing one, two, three and four year college scholarships for worthy boys and girls, others are giving awards for particular achievements. Other clubs are studying political conditions and concerning themselves with problems of municipal government. An analysis of the programs carried on by selected club groups is revealed through the answers to a questionnaire given them on the subject, and public announcements of their activities.

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*"Let Us Prey"—Ira De A. Reid, Opportunity—Journal of Negro Life, Vol. 4—No. 45—September, 1926.

** Reference is to the clubs affiliated with the Federation of Women's Clubs of Allegheny County. The investigator visited its regular meeting and secured information from the major portion. Thirty-five additional questionnaires were mailed out to women's clubs, but only two replied.

Club No. 1—Scholarship aid for students
2—Social aid to social service department of Western Pennsylvania Hospital
3—Literary
4—Civic improvement
5—Assistance to welfare organizations, and helping the poor
6—Educational
7—Business—encouraging savings among its members. Conducts a vacation fund

Among the organizations composed entirely of men is the Loendi club. It was organized in 1897 by a group of men interested in fostering the cultural life of the Negro in Pittsburgh. For more than a quarter of a century, cultural and social programs have been presented with much success. The annual programs of the club are outstanding events in the social life of the racial group. For more than 25 years the club has maintained a site on Fullerton Street near Center Avenue.

There are five chapters of national college fraternities and sororities in Pittsburgh. Though their emphasis has been chiefly on things social, each has an educational program that is of value. The Alpha Phi Alpha, Kappa Alpha Psi, and Omega Psi Phi Fraternities and Alpha Kappa Alpha and Delta Sigma Theta Sororities have been fairly active in their respective fields. Particular mention should be made of the sororities whose unique approaches to the encouragement of things cultural and artistic through educational programs have been most successful.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is particularly interested in defending the civil rights of the American Negro. The Pittsburgh branch of the Association waged a most successful membership campaign early in 1929. The organization operates through groups of white and colored persons who endeavor to obtain for the Negro everything to which he is legally entitled in the United States, in the belief that mutual respect and understanding are only possible when these rights are obtained.

Though not as active here as in other large cities in the country, the Universal Negro Improvement Association has a chapter in Pittsburgh. It is an organization that attempts to induce Negroes to combat these injustices and denials of rights by starting movements of their own, thereby becoming economically independent of the white population. By going "Back to Africa," as the movement is called, the Negro will be able to secure that necessary political and economic power which he is denied in America.

Inter-racial conferences in Pittsburgh have been fostered through the Pittsburgh Council of Churches. Interesting sessions were held during the second week of July, 1928, in white and colored churches of the city. The committee on findings of this conference reported that the addresses had shown a grave need for better and more employment for citizens of color in Pittsburgh and vicinity, of better housing, and of better moral conditions in the communities particularly where colored people live. The committee suggested a quarantine hospital for girls of both races who have fallen victims of the grosser evils and at least for colored girls, a rescue home which may save the under-privileged; also, a larger and more efficient work among colored boys affected by evil conditions.

Though the meeting was regarded as "harmonious," and "constructive work" was done, none of the more practical recommendations have materialized at this time.

Political Organizations

Political organizations among the Negro population of Pittsburgh are not so strong as its population size would intimate. As 5% of the adult population had been in residence less than twenty years at the time of the 1920 Census, their political power has not fully developed. In early days of the century, there were Negro leaders who were able to secure appointments for workers in their district. Within recent years, there has been a more concerted effort toward electing colored men to office. Though the losses have been greater than the successes there is evidence of a growing power. And though one Negro alderman was elected from the Fifth Ward a few years ago, factional difficulties and machine rule have made subsequent elections difficult. In the recent primary election the Negro candidate for council ran well in the returns from the Third, Fifth, Twelfth and Thirteenth Wards where the Negro vote was heavy, but was unsuccessful, while the Third Ward candidate for Aldermanic nomination was defeated by a plurality of 800 votes.

Recently there have been efforts among the colored people to form stable and substantial political organizations. In both the Third and Fifth Wards organizations exist. Constructive efforts on the part of these organizations in intelligently directing the Negro electorate is much needed.

Cultural

There is very little cultural life among the Pittsburgh Negro population. No more than two churches in the city have attempted any serious work in this direction, and club organization of such a nature is limited.

Apart from the Pittsburgh Lyceum, the Symposium, a forum of University students and graduates in the city, and the monthly forum at Bethesda Church on the North Side there are few programs of interest to Negroes in the City. Those Negro artists who do come to Pittsburgh are usually brought by white organizations. Negro groups that have attempted this feature usually have found the venture a financial loss.

In music the cultural side of life is more developed. There are several graduates of recognized musical institutes conducting studios in the city. Meanwhile the churches have emphasized the development of musical talent. A few years ago a music festival was given at Forbes Field by groups of trained singers, while other musical aggregations have rendered programs which have attracted city wide attention.

There are independent literary clubs and other clubs connected with the churches and social organizations of the city. However, it appears that the coming of the rural Southern Negro to the city served as a deterrent to the earlier cultural efforts. From the resultant cultural lethargy the Negro community is only beginning to awaken.

Other Community Organizations

The "good-time" social clubs of Pittsburgh are legion. There is no doubt that this is one of the most highly developed phases of Pittsburgh's life. During the year 1928 news items on more than 250 Negro social clubs in Pittsburgh appeared in the social pages of the Pittsburgh Courier (Negro Weekly). It would be difficult to find any other city with a Negro population of the size of Pittsburgh's where so many social affairs are regarded as being of the first water. The annual "Frog's Week" held each

August is a social affair of national prominence. While the material value of these organizations may be difficult to weigh, there is no doubt that they fill an important part of the leisure time program.

Leadership

The question of leadership among the Negro population is always a disputed one. As in other cities the bulk of Negro leadership has been found in Negro ministers. Important leaders, however, have come from other walks of life. Pittsburgh's leadership has been good, bad, and indifferent at various times.

The fault, however, is not alone that of the leaders. Cleavages appeared between the old and new populations. The masses often are victimized by the machinations of scheming politicians, and reject persons of their own race who are most worthy of being heeded. In the Hill District, however, a major problem is the dearth of reliable, and trained leadership.

The Negro minister is no longer unqualifiedly accepted as the Negro leader, though there are a few ministers in Pittsburgh who have proved themselves of real service to the Community.

The Negro professional man in Pittsburgh possesses opportunities for great power and success. His support is enlisted for every social movement, and while the cooperation extended may be no more than a moral one, it shows the presence of social mindedness among the group. There is no doubt that this group is one whose power to promote and remedy social phenomena has never been fully utilized.

The one Negro newspaper now extant in Pittsburgh has for twenty years espoused the cause of the Negro. While this paper, The Pittsburgh Courier, has had more of a national than a local appeal, much space is given to local items of importance. As a moulder of public opinions, its editorials have been particularly effective. A few years ago it was cited as having the best editorials of any Negro paper. Not only has it sought to bring to light the injustices forced upon Negroes, but it has shown Negroes their shortcomings and suggested a greater activity.

When a Negro alderman from the Fifth Ward was defeated for reelection in one of the municipal elections, this paper showed that there were enough Negro votes in that area to elect any man the group desired. On another occasion, when the Jewish population had successfully waged a campaign for its philanthropies, the Courier in an editorial entitled "How the Jews Do It," said in part,

> "If the Negro needs to learn one thing, it is to regulate his method of helping his unfortunates. Among Negroes, begging is considered an honorable method of support. We have beggars of all sorts, and they are released upon the world to be supported by indiscriminate givers, or to go the way of other vagrants."

Among the laymen, particularly the fraternity and club women, there are both the material and the opportunity for developing both a civic-minded leadership and an intelligent following.

The great loss suffered by the Pittsburgh Negroes when the Steel City Bank failed in 1925 after doing a business of more than $5,000,000 during the first four years of its existence, has never been offset. Not only was this failure an economic loss but Negro leadership received a setback from which the population is only now recovering.

XII. NEGRO CHURCHES

The church is one of the first and probably one of the strongest institutions among Negroes. Its importance in the community lies not only in its large membership and religious influence, but in its influence as a medium of social control for great numbers of Negroes, and in its adjustment value to newcomers to the city.

Within the last two decades a tremendous change has occurred in the relationships existing between the Negro and his religious institutions. The immigration to Northern cities showed many persons who had been successfully marshalled into the cause of Christianity that the approbrious word "sinner" was losing its effect; that many new facilities including the Y. M. C. A., playgrounds, parks, welfare organizations, and libraries were consuming the time formerly held by the church. In the Hill District, while many of the public facilities are lacking, there is a distinct apathy on the part of approximately half of the Negro population toward the church. They find other places for their leisure time and numerous other urban and civic organizations with trained workers to look after their interests probably better than the church. In the Christian associations they find religion related to the development of the mind and body. Other organizations have thrived with and without the sanction of the cloth. Some of the churches, however, have sought to establish activities of a social nature in response to this new demand.

The Hill Churches

In the Third and Fifth Wards there are 45 Negro churches,* eighteen of which may be classified as "storefronts." The varieties of denominational division are wide and interesting. A classification on the basis of information collected is given in Table CH 1.

TABLE CH 1

Denominational Distribution of Churches in the Hill District

Denomination	Number of Churches
Baptist	17
Methodist Episcopal	1
African M. E.	2
Colored M. E.	1
African M. E. Zion	2
Presbyterian	1
Episcopalian	1
Seventh Day Adventist	1
Christian Missionary Alliance	1
Catholic	2
Spiritualist	3
Holiness	3
Church of God	4
Others	6
Total	45

*Note: Conflicting data were secured for seven churches, rendering that material unsatisfactory. Pastors and officers of eleven churches could not be located during the time of the field work; two pastors refused to give any information.

The dates of organization for 24* of these churches show an unusual growth during the present decade.

TABLE CH 2

Dates of Organization of Churches in Hill District

Year	Number of Churches
1820-1850	1
1850-1860	2
1860-1880	1
1880-1890	1
1890-1900	1
1900-1910	2
1910-1920	2
1920-1929	14
Total	24

MEMBERSHIP

Twenty-five of these churches have an aggregate membership of 12,377 with an estimated attendance at all services on Sunday of 10,000. The distribution of membership by size is shown in Table CH 3.

TABLE CH 3

Size of Churches by Membership

Number of Members	Number of Churches
1— 99	3
100— 199	5
200— 299	2
300— 499	7
500— 999	5
1000—1999	2
2000 or more	1
Total	25

For the 1,079 people covered in the family questionnaires filled out by investigators in the present survey, 436 reported membership in churches. The monthly attendance of church services of these persons is shown in Table CH 4.

TABLE CH 4

Church Attendance of Hill Residents

Number of Times Attended Monthly	Sunday A. M.	Sunday P. M.	Sunday School	Week Day Services
Irregularly	38	0	8	0
Once	67	26	17	29
Twice	63	24	14	4
Three	15	4	6	0
All Services	220	47	157	4
More than Four Services	...	...	...	11
Number not attending church though members				125

*The date of organization for the twenty-fifth church could not be given because it was not known.

Church Finance

Securing exact information on the amount of money raised and handled by Negro churches during any given period is a difficult undertaking. Only the larger and better organized institutions keep accurate accounts. The total value of property holdings of 21 of the larger churches is $1,622,500. There is a total indebtedness of seventeen of them to the amount of $333,800. In seventeen of the twenty-five churches the annual collections for 1928 aggregated $175,422.10. The distribution of receipts is shown in the following table:

Table CH 5

Distribution of Annual Receipts in Hill Churches

Amount Raised 1928	Number of Churches
Less than ..... $ 1,000	1
$ 1,000 2,999	1
3,000 5,999	6
6,000 8,999	2
9,000 11,999	2
12,000 and over	5
Total	17

Programs

The church program is basically one of evangelism. This is as true in Pittsburgh as in other urban centers. The situation reported as existing here by Miss Tucker* more than twenty years ago has not changed materially. The report says in part—

> "But there is a large number not reached by the church in any real sense. Though—church is in a district where the alleys and all the bad conditions they imply are numerous, the pastor's plans for the year as he outlined them were:
>
> First, to pay the debt on the church, second, to have a revival to fill it up. Not a word was said of the great need for active social work at its very doors."

Other churches in the Hill today are typified in the following groups:

Church A does not encourage outside social activities. It is interested in getting people to accept Christ.

Church B conducts a vacation Bible school, debating society, and a young people's union. It has a volunteer social worker, untrained, but who cooperates with the social agencies of the city.

Church C maintains a parish house for social affairs and indoor games. This church is the only one that permits dancing.

Church D maintains a strictly evangelistic program—open air meetings—jail services, Sunday School Teachers Training Class, and Bible School.

Church E maintains a vacation Bible school, physical education department, two Boy Scout Troops, a Junior Church, a home for aged women, and a three-story apartment. Organization of church for 1930 calls for fifteen rooms devoted to community work. In this church there will

* Tucker, Helen A. The Negroes of Pittsburgh. Appendix V—Wage Earning Pittsburgh.

be six departmental organizations and will include departments of social service, physical education, and music.

Church F has a basketball team, volley ball teams and a few clubs for young people. Five rooms are available for social and recreational purposes. It formerly maintained a paid social worker and a day nursery but because of lack of financial support was forced to discontinue the work.

Problems

The greatest problem faced by the Negro Church aside from that of evangelism is finance. Despite the problem of raising funds, the Negro church is the wealthiest institution in the group. Partly because there are so many churches, and because there is such a demand for financial support individual church memberships have decreased. The Negro church that can afford to give its financial support secondary consideration is the exception. Only one church in this group appeared able to do this. The following situations are self-explanatory:

Church A. This church is practically free of debt, though extensive repairs are needed. The pastor claims that it is quite difficult to place a mortgage on church property, because its value to other enterprises is nominal and the borrowing power is low.

Church B. Present pastor came to this church to save it from a forced sale. One church loaned it $500, while the members raised $1,000 and quieted the mortgagers. It has an indebtedness of $21,000 and is required to pay $150 monthly on the debt.

Church C. When the present pastor came to the church there were less than 300 members. The people were discouraged and had been "beaten out" of large sums of money. One promoter had been employed to raise a building fund. Though he raised only $200 he was paid $1,300 for his services. An architect was paid $5,000 for plans which were not used. Another architect drew plans at a cost of $1,800 of which amount he was paid only $600.

Church D. At one time this church owned unemcumbered two pieces of property and had paid $20,000 on another parcel. Due to bad management all of this was lost. Under the present pastor, the present edifice is rented for $75.00 monthly. There is a building campaign now being carried on and 100 members are asked to contribute $30.00 each.

Young People and the Church*

The churches in the Hill District have very little physical equipment available for young people. It is little wonder that they look for leisure time attractions. The general attitudes of the pastors towards young peo-

* For data given in this section due credit is given to Mr. Max Bond, formerly physical director of the Center Avenue Branch Y. M. C. A. who, in 1928, made a study of "Fourteen Negro Churches in Pittsburgh." This work was primarily concerned with leisure time opportunities provided by those institutions.

ple as reflected in this study may be summed up as follows:

1. Willingness to assist but lacking in direction.
2. Sympathetic but unable to maintain church and provide leisure time facilities for youth. Older members will withdraw support if "the works of the devil" are brought into the church, as athletic teams, games, and movies.
3. The intelligent Negro, the college bred persons, are not staunch supporters of the church.
4. Programs are being planned for the immediate future.

The last named group is by far in the minority. So far the following facilities are available in nine of the largest churches in the district.

TABLE CH 6

Recreational Facilities Provided by Churches

	Dramatics	Choir	Orchestra	Clubs	Athletic Teams	Libraries	Shows	Dances
Bethel	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	No
Warren	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	No
Central	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	No
Wesley	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	No
Grace	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	No
Ebenezer	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	No
Holy Cross	0	1	2	3	2	0	0	Yes
Macedonia	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	No
Shiloh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	No

In establishing a program for young people it is of interest to note that only ten churches are open during the week for use by young people and that thirty is the total number of hours open during the week. Including Sundays, these churches are used only 23 hours per week. The apparent reason for such small utilization of the time allotted is due mainly to the poorly and loosely organized programs offered to the young people.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

According to the Allegheny County Sunday School Association the statistical data concerning 68 Negro Churches in Pittsburgh show a total Sunday School membership of 12,152. According to the latest reports these churches received from Sunday School membership into church membership in a single year 484. The Sunday Schools have 1,022 officers and teachers.

District No. 2, the Hill, by their own request is made up entirely of Negro churches—23 in all. In fact there were only two or three white churches in the district for several years and these were sold to the Negro congregations some time ago. The whole district is officered by Negro Sunday School Workers. This last year it conducted an Interdenominational Leadership Training School. Eight Churches were represented and 42 students enrolled. Plans are in the making to have a similar school during the coming year.

VACATION BIBLE SCHOOLS

Vacation Bible Schools were not as active in 1929 as they were in 1928. An analysis of this feature follows:

According to the Sunday School Association there were in operation for Negroes in Pittsburgh in 1928 Vacation Bible Schools with memberships shown in the following table:

Denomination	Pupils
Baptist	200
A. M. E.	65
A. M. E. Zion	25
Presbyterian	50
Episcopal	70
Total	410

Two vacation schools were visited in 1929, those of Ebenezer Baptist Church and Warren M. E. Church. The Ebenezer School is held in the Church building. The children play on adjoining grounds which the church owns. There are twelve instructors, all female, who vary in age from the early twenties or under up to those past middle age. The assistant pastor is head of the school. At the time the investigator called, the pastor was in charge. The average attendance per day is 200. Two-thirds of this number are female. The school runs for four weeks, at the end of which time each of the twelve instructors receives $25.00. The principal receives $50.00. The girls are taught to sew, to make beaded bags, and to do other hand work. The boys are taught crafts, and were working with wood at the time of the visit. The School lets out at 11:45 A. M. The kindergarten children are given a light lunch at 11:00 A. M. None of the other children are served food. Any child who cares to may attend so long as he or she behaves. The school has been conducted over a period of several years. Bible and secular stories are taught the children along with hymns and other songs. Each teacher is supposed to supervise the play period of her particular group. Play equipment is meagre.

Warren Church is conducting a vacation Bible school with a special worker in charge. The school is conducted much the same as that at Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Organized Church Efforts

The Department of Work Among Negroes of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches of Christ consists of sixty-three supporting Negro congregations, including nearly all of the larger churches. Its executive committee is composed of seven Negro and three white ministers. Its financial support comes one-third from white sources and two-thirds from the Negro churches.

The work of the department is county-wide, but most of it is for the Hill. This work consists of:

Morals Court Service. A case worker (female) is maintained at the court assisted by volunteer support from many of the church workers. Work for boys at the court is referred to the Y. M. C. A. In this, the organization follows the example of the work there for white boys. This arrangement was made many years ago, whereby the Y. M. C. A. agreed to represent the Protestant churches at the court in work for boys. Family cases as well as girl cases are handled by the Department's worker.

Parolees of the penitentiary are also served through this agency, although this is not yet well developed.

Educational Work is conducted as follows: Conferences are held and speakers furnished on conditions and needs in the district. There is a training school for church workers particularly

Sunday School teachers. Meetings are conducted for promotion of volunteer cooperation in service to Morals Court cases, etc.

Inter-racial conferences (two during 1928) for church leaders of both races for consideration of questions of relationships and mutual concern.

Civic Action. Promotion of more intelligent and independent voting at primaries and elections, with provisions for furnishing information concerning issues of moral and human interest involved in political contests and the positions of various candidates thereon.

This organization does not conduct any agencies of its own. It is the cooperating center of the Protestant Churches, but the agencies are all denominations. In the Hill District all the work with which it is concerned is that of the churches themselves—the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A.

According to the retired executive Secretary of the Commission, for ten years the most outstanding problem in Pittsburgh relative to the Negro has been that of the adjustment of the new Negro population, mostly rural in source, to urban conditions. That is now modified by the reduction of the use of Negroes in many industries and the consequent withdrawal of many.

The housing problem is, of course, always to the fore here as elsewhere.

Industrial opportunities other than common labor tasks, notably, opportunity for the educated Negro to make use of his training, are what are needed.

In presenting the work, Dr. Zahniser, the retiring executive secretary states,

> "Our organization has felt a responsibility resting on us for the reason that the church is the one institution among Negroes which the Negro himself considers distinctively his own, and to which he feels the greatest loyalty. It is notable that the flourishing Negro Churches are nearly all their own indigenous bodies, not those affiliated with white churches. Practically all Negroes being Protestants makes the problem simpler in this regard than among other races. We have felt, therefore, that the Negro's church should be helped into greater social efficiency. At the same time, we have insisted that what is undertaken should be by the Negroes themselves with white assistance, but never done for them by white people. This makes for slower progress, but we believe more enduring results. Not pauperization either material or spiritual, but self-help is our aim."

Excerpts from a study on "The Attitude of Negro Ministers Toward the Negro Girls Between the Ages of Fourteen and Twenty-four in Seventeen Churches of the City of Pittsburgh," made by the Pennsylvania College for Women in 1925, is cited here for its value to the subject.

"The general survey of seventeen churches is in the interest of discovering what the various churches and ministers were or are doing for girls, especially those between the ages of fourteen and twenty-four whether they are awake to any need for the churches to interest the young people by a different type of appeal than the appeal before used.

"From this survey the following statistical conclusions are reached, based upon the estimates of the pastors. In seventeen churches repre-

sentative of the Negro churches in the city, there are enrolled 13,967 with an average of 6,875. Of that number there are 1,025 between the ages of fourteen and twenty-four. In the Sunday School enrollments there are 4,732 with an attendance of 2,874. Of that number one church school has no classes for girls fourteen to twenty-four, two do not have classes for girls eighteen to twenty-four. In four churches they have socials for young people at stated times,—the rest have them only when there is a special occasion like Christmas or New Years. There are seven Negro Girl Reserve Clubs in all the colored churches of the city, these have been all started by the Y. W. C. A. and are clubs for the community and not limited to church membership. In one church there is a club which is composed of girls of the church. There are seven societies for girls eighteen to twenty-four with enrollments of 886. The enrollment of the fourteen Young Peoples Societies which meet every Sunday evening is 1,610 with an average attendance of 1,590, composed of 704 boys and 886 girls. There are three churches that have paid workers, this includes three church secretaries, two church visitors and one paid worker for girls. There are four organized clubs which include boys and girls in three churches.

"From these statistical statements we can see that the only churches which the girls are attending are the churches which are offering other things for girls to do besides attend worship services on Sundays. Since the Negro Church is so important in bringing these people together it seems that the only progressive thing for them to do is to interest young people in the church."

XIII. SOCIAL AGENCIES OF THE COMMUNITY

It seems obvious that the movement of a large number of Negroes into the Hill District should affect the social programs of the community. An analysis of the problems faced by these organizations in their approach to the Negro situation in that district shows their experiences in dealing with that group, as well as some of the causes of the Negro's social failure.

Organizations Working with Negroes Only

THE CENTER AVENUE BRANCH OF THE Y. W. C. A. had a total membership in 1928 of 383. Its work may be divided into several sections:

1. Work with Girl Reserves
2. Work with Industrial and Business Girls
3. Employment
4. Dormitory and Dining Room
5. Religious
6. Leisure time programs
7. Educational program

The attendance at its various functions is revealed from the statistical report for 1928.

Total attendance at all religious work activities	1,006
Total attendance at all health educational activities	207
Total attendance at all educational work activities	1,355
Total attendance at all Business Girls' Clubs	1,621
Total attendance at all Industrial Clubs	543
Total attendance at all Girl Reserve Clubs	7,830
Total attendance at all social and recreational activities	756
Total attendance at all activities, including those using the dormitory, dining room, and employment bureau	22,703

The branch has an employed staff of six workers. All of its work is not confined to the Hill District. Its Girl Reserve Program for example is carried on even in the satellite towns surrounding the city. The lack of recreational and social facilities, hampers its general program. The building is used by outside organizations for meeting purposes.

THE CENTER AVENUE BRANCH OF THE Y. M. C. A. has a secretarial staff of four persons (including persons employed for other purposes). The present building was erected in 1923 and is a standard building with lobby space, class and club rooms, gymnasium and pool.

The Association Survey of Pittsburgh made during 1928-1929 by the Metropolitan Y. M. C. A. gives the following information on the Branch's activities:

On June 30, 1928 there were 232 men and 308 boy members, a total of 540 persons belonging to the Association. In the Branch there were 16 organized groups with a total enrollment of 609 and a total attendance of 17,886. Two extension groups with an enrollment of 49 were carried on by the workers.

It is estimated that there are 20,010 males between 10 and 50 years in Pittsburgh, only 1.5% of whom are reached by the Association.

The report recommended that:

1. The Branch do extension work
2. Efforts be made to increase vocational opportunities for Negro youth
3. Inter-racial amity be promoted

THE URBAN LEAGUE OF PITTSBURGH was organized in March, 1918, for the purpose of promoting the social welfare of the Negro in Pittsburgh. At the time of its incipiency there was a demand for work of an industrial nature and for some years its work was directed toward that end. The organization does the only work among Negro school children through its school visitor. By conducting neighborhood clubs in various sections of the city it attempts the promotion of better homes, better citizens, better neighborhoods, busier leisure hours and broader contacts. It also seeks to serve as a clearing house for all information and programs affecting the Negro population of the city.

Along with the two branches of its work previously mentioned, the neighborhood work and the school visiting, work with girls is done by a girls' worker who gives part-time to the organization of girls' clubs. The organization plans a more intensive industrial program by which it hopes to increase the opportunities for Negroes and encourage their steadiness, reliability and efficiency on the job and advise with employers in their problems with Negro labor. This field remains the outstanding opportunity in Pittsburgh for the Urban League to do a very constructive piece of work, and it should be encouraged.

During 1929 the organization conducted a Food Show, and a Health Week Campaign which were quite effective.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN BROTHERHOOD was founded for the purpose of promoting "intellectual, industrial, civic, moral and economic welfare among Negroes, conducive to the securing of good citizenship and the welfare of the community in which he lives; and further, to teach men and women to think and act unselfishly in the spirit of love and good will for all mankind, always recognizing the rights of others and demanding their own rights as citizens in every respect under the Constitution of the United States of America."

The activity of the organization has been chiefly that of cleaning up the vice and crime situation in the city. Its president has been active in exposing alleged resorts existing in the Hill District. The organization is also interested in the political activity of Negroes in this area.

In connection with the provisions for dependent and delinquent children in Pittsburgh, it is well to call attention to the study "Institutional Care for Dependent Colored Children in Allegheny County" made during April, 1929, by Mrs. Helen G. Tyson for the Pittsburgh Federation of Social Agencies. The summary of Mrs. Tyson's report and the recommendations, particularly as they refer to the Coleman Home are included in this report.

The important points brought out by this survey are:

1. There are 235 dependent, colored children in the county. About one-third are cared for in institutions; about two-thirds, in foster homes.

2. The three institutions, the Coleman, Davis, and Termon Homes, are used to about three-fourths of their capacity. 78 children are in them.

3. One institution with a capacity for 50 children could easily meet the entire institutional need, under the following conditions:

(a) If all very little children under five were placed in good foster homes, following modern social procedure.

(b) If only those children who are legal residents of Western Pennsylvania were admitted.

(c) If more adequate relief were given to families where the father is gone rather than the practice of separating children from good mothers.

4. The delinquency problem among colored children is much more pressing than dependency.

5. Actual lack of children needing institutional care seems to indicate that the colored and white groups should throw their efforts back of the one institution best equipped in ground, building, etc. to give all necessary care and that the other two homes should turn their resources and services towards other urgent and unmet community needs.

On this report, the committee made the following recommendations:

To the Board of the Coleman Home

The conditions which led to the founding of the home seem to have changed. The problem of delinquency among colored boys is today a far more pressing problem than dependency. There is not enough institutional care for delinquent boys living in the community. It is therefore recommended that the Coleman Home for Boys consider directing their future service along the line of Big Brother work, with a view to saving maladjusted boys from crime and to helping them become useful citizens.

To the Davis Home

Various needs for social service are more pressing than institutional care of dependent colored girls. They include the need for a convalescent home, under good medical supervision, to which patients could be sent who are no longer in need of hospital care but are still unfit to go home.

The committee urges that the Board consider directing their future services toward convalescent care, fresh air work for children, or some equally unmet and urgent community problem.

To the Board of the Termon Home

Since the Termon Home has accommodations for all the Negro children in the community who need institutional care, the committee believes that that home well-equipped with grounds and building, and with an endowment fund, should be the one institution to care for dependent colored children in the community.

The committee recommends that the Board consider:

(a) The enlarging of the Board to include colored members.

(b) The raising of the age limit to twelve years that brothers and sisters would not be separated.

(c) That arrangements be made for foster home care for children under five through the Children's Aid Society.

(d) That an effort be made to put trained colored workers on the Staff as rapidly as possible. One of the first workers might be a colored trained nurse to give careful attention to the health needs of the children along with other staff duties. A colored worker with case work training might be employed to handle applications for admission payments from parents,

and the various questions involving the relations of the institution with other social agencies. Training for the members of the staff is absolutely necessary and essential.

THE COLEMAN HOME FOR BOYS on Bedford Avenue was established in 1907 and is supported by volunteer contributions and state aid to the amount of $1,500 a year. It has a capacity of 33 boys and, at the time of this study, there were 28 in the institution. Three full time workers are employed. The house is a three-story brick structure consisting of 11 rooms, 2 of which are used for sleeping purposes in addition to the attic dormitory. The boys go to the neighborhood playgrounds unaccompanied, and attend three different public schools.

The house is old, but in a fair state of repair. There are two bathtubs, one shower, and three toilets, all on the second floor. It is located in a congested neighborhood and there is a noticeable lack of yard space for the children to play. The estimated value of the building is twelve thousand dollars. The house serves dependent, delinquent and homeless boys. Shelter, food, and clothing are furnished along with the matron's care. If the parents are able to afford the fee, a charge of three dollars per week is made.

The Board has questioned whether its particular service to colored children is as much needed in 1929 as in past years, or whether the Home might not better turn its resources into newer channels of service for boys.

The Davis Home has had such severe financial struggles that it has been on the verge of closing.

THE ELLA GRAYSON HOME FOR WORKING GIRLS on Francis Street was chartered in 1903. Because of difficulties in securing funds, the Home was reorganized in 1904. It has had a very difficult time in maintaining itself.

The Home consists of a ten-room frame structure valued at ten thousand dollars. During the past year, various clubs of colored women have contributed sums of money for interior decorations. The only staff member employed is a matron. The capacity of the Home is 15, and the number of girls present is 6. Girls are charged from $2.50 to $3.00 a week for the privileges of living therein. The purposes of the Home are to offer shelter in a respectable atmosphere to the under-privileged colored girl having a small job. In instances where neglected single women were without home and funds, they have been accepted. The matron accepts employment for girls and dispatches them on jobs. This home is seriously in need of funds to employ additional workers.

Other organizations previously interested in the Hill in Pittsburgh which are no longer functioning are the Warren Day Nursery, Morgan Community House, Provident House, Colored Branch of the Juvenile Court Association, and the Negro Women's Industrial Union.

Organizations Working with Negroes

THE PITTSBURGH ASSOCIATION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE POOR employs a colored social worker in the Family Welfare Department doing the large amount of case work which comes to its attention. It is also conducting a lodging house for indigent colored men at the corner of Washington and Webster Streets. This building, a four story and basement structure, also houses community work such as moving pictures for children, educational talks and entertainments. The roof of the structure is of tile construction and permits sand boxes and slides for younger children. An employment department is conducted along with other industrial features. The facilities are available for white and colored persons.

As this building was opened for use only the eighth of March, 1930, all of the projects are not yet in full swing.

THE FAMILY WELFARE ASSOCIATION relieves distress in needy families by seeking to remove its causes and restore the family to independence and self-support, enlisting in this work the cooperation of churches, other charitable organizations and individuals, as well as mobilizing the necessary material relief. The Pittsburgh territory is divided into six districts. The Central district is one in which there are a large number of Negroes. For the year 1928-29, 50.9% of the active major care case load of the Central District was colored. For two successive years the colored load of the whole agency was 19.9% and 19.68% showing the heavy weighting of Central District which covers the Hill. Two Negro family case workers are employed in this area.

THE CATHOLIC CHARITIES OF PITTSBURGH submits the following data on its work during the year 1928. In the Department of Case Work there were 8 Negro cases, and 11 cases involving work with children.

THE LEGAL AID SOCIETY OF PITTSBURGH. During the period June 1, 1927 to June 1, 1929 this organization had 160 Negro clients out of a total of 1,269, representing 12.6% of its total cases. It was impossible to separate the statistics for the Hill District as the organization's service was for the entire county. Two of the most outstanding problems faced by the Legal Aid Society are first, the instalment plan, and second, the landlord and tenant situation. The attorney in charge of the society states "that many of the Negroes who come to us have signed agreements without being familiar with the legal consequences."

THE TRAVELERS' AID SOCIETY. During the year 1928 the Travelers' Aid Society of Pittsburgh assisted 948 American Negroes. The total number of persons assisted was 17,608. Some of the cases, however, were simply those of giving advice on hospitals, churches, employment facilities, etc.

The most difficult problem faced by this organization and Negro transients is that of finding temporary shelter for colored women and children, and for colored couples. It is frequently asked by colored travellers to recommend furnished rooms. In most of these instances they have communicated with the Y. W. C. A. but this organization is very much handicapped because with them room registration is only a side issue.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE. This department handles an extraordinarily large number of Negro cases. Unfortunately, it was impossible to secure separate figures for Negroes, but workers in the department advised that the most outstanding problems with them are those of health, particularly convalescence and relief.

THE BUREAU OF THE HANDICAPPED. In this bureau, during 1928, there were 36 physically handicapped Negroes registered. Seven physically handicapped non-residents were referred to other agencies.

THE STATE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE cooperates with the United States Department of Labor Employment Service and renders free employment service to persons in the city. Formerly, a separate Negro office was maintained on Wylie Avenue. At present there are one Negro woman and one Negro man employed. Women are referred to domestic and public positions, while men are given work as general laborers. No statistics on the subject are available. No attempt is made to open new opportunities for Negro workers.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING ASSOCIATION provides skilled nursing care on the visiting basis, teaching the principles of hygiene, sanitation

and disease prevention. One of these sub-stations is located at the Irene Kaufmann Settlement. At this station nine nurses are employed, two of whom are colored. The problems involved are similar to those found in any other section of the city. Colored nurses are employed to work among colored people. There are two Negro student nurses in training at this sub-station.

In connection with the Well Baby work carried on at this clinic, there is an infant welfare station which includes the distribution of milk by city nurses. Various clinics are held in the Settlement on Mondays and Thursdays and are attended by both white and colored. Free milk is distributed from eight to nine o'clock. On the morning of July 1, 1929, 18 women entered during this period, 77 baby cases were registered, and 58 applications were made for free milk. Of the total number of baby cases registered 74 were Negroes. As this was in the summer, the older children often came for milk. Milk is delivered to five addresses because of their distance from the station.

The Girl Scouts of Allegheny County

In July, 1929, there were three registered troops of Girl Scouts among Negro girls of Pittsburgh, but none of these are located in the Hill District. This work is under the direction of the girls' club worker of the Pittsburgh Urban League.

During the ten years that the Girl Scout program has been established in the county, there have been a good many troops among Negro girls, but few of them have lived long. Several years ago, during the time of a former girls' worker of the Urban League, there was an active group of Scouts with well supervised leadership. Until the work was taken up two years ago by the present Urban League workers, the leadership had been desultory. The lack of supervision by well-trained Negro workers has been a handicap in the development of this program.

The Boy Scouts

On June 28, 1929 there were 10 colored troops of Boy Scouts registered with the Allegheny Council of Boy Scouts of America. These troops had a combined membership of 170.

The development of this work among colored boys has not progressed as satisfactorily as had been hoped by the Boy Scouts organization and the interested colored persons themselves.

When in 1926 a representative of the inter-racial work of the Boy Scouts of America came to Pittsburgh to stimulate a greater increase in scouting among boys, a number of new scouts were brought into the organization. Aside from the fact that there are a few Negro boys members of other troops, the development of organization in the last three years has been toward separate troops. Through the Executive Council of Pittsburgh, a committee of colored citizens was appointed to assist in developing this work. A training school was organized and the colored attendance was better in this special school than it had been in the regular school when it was conducted with white persons.

Despite this organization and the increased efforts toward bringing colored scouts into the movement, there have arisen several causes for complaints on the part of all persons concerned. Because of the lack of responsible leadership, it is maintained that the colored scouts have not developed so rapidly as have many of the white troops. The colored troops, however, maintain that attempts are being made to discriminate against them. All of this grows out of two or three rather unpleasant situations

for which the Executive Office claims no direct responsibility. The Secretary in Pittsburgh is particularly anxious to have an organization of colored scouts similar to that which has been perfected in other cities, particularly Chicago.

As there are no complete camp facilities in Pittsburgh, this problem is one that the organization also faces. Attempt to establish a separate court of honor for Negro Scouts, too, seems futile.

THE BOYS' CLUB OF PITTSBURGH

Though the Boys Club of Pittsburgh is not located in the Hill District it has done some work with colored boys. Camp Charles is the official summer camp of the organization, and though there were no colored boys present during the summer of 1929, the managing director stated that "if we received application we would be glad to consider their coming to Camp Charles and staying there for a week or so."

At the time that this club was located in the Strip district, the colored boys won many of the honors in athletics.

In 1927, W. T. Coleman of the Boys' Club Federation made a study of the colored boy situation in Pittsburgh with a view toward attempting a boys' club for them similar to the Wissahicon Club—for under privileged colored boys only—in Germantown, Pennsylvania. At that time the Boys' Club of Pittsburgh had 800 members, 160 of whom were colored.

Jewish Agencies

What is beyond a doubt the best organized social work in the Hill District is that done under the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. According to Dr. Bernstein, executive director of the Federation, these affiliated societies do not undertake any social work among the Negro population, maintaining that the purposes and objectives of the Jewish Federation is primarily to render social service to the Jewish group.

In the Hill District, the Federation supports the Irene Kaufmann Settlement, the Home for the Aged, and the Montefiore Hospital and Dispensary. Only the hospital has been to a considerable extent attended by Negroes, the Irene Kaufmann Settlement only to a limited extent, and the Home for Aged to no extent at all.

In an analysis of the handicaps facing the Negro population in the Hill, Dr. Bernstein states "There is not enough self help and initiative toward self help shown by the Negro population in our community—even though every allowance must necessarily be made for the social, economic, and other handicaps from which the colored population in Pittsburgh on the Hill is especially suffering. My feeling is, and my feeling is strengthened by my knowledge of a number of individuals, that there is splendid material available in the colored group who have the makings for leadership among their people and that one of the greatest needs of the colored group is the utilization of this splendid material for the purposes of greater, aggressive self-help and enlightenment."

Day Nurseries

In an analysis of the Negro families as quoted in a chapter of this report, 77 mothers or 35% of those investigated were employed away from home. For these 220 families, 97.7% of them had children under 18 years of age. Only 45 of these mothers, however, reported on the disposition of children while they were at work. Of this number, 30—more than half of them, left the children at home with an older child who usually remained from school, or alone. The following table gives a complete analysis.

TABLE S 1

How 45 Mothers Cared for Their Children While at Work

Left at home	30
With relatives	4
School	4
At library	1
In bed	1
Boarded out	1
Wife works at night	1
With neighbors	1
On porch	1
Alone	1
Total	45

The Negro public health nurses at the Irene Kaufmann Settlement furnished some 20 families in need of day nursery care. These families were known to other agencies and each situation was different from the other. In family No. 1 there were 7 children, 5 of whom were under 13 years of age. The father was sick, and the mother forced to work. For the children three and one years of age, there was need for full day time care, while two children under 12 were in need of an institution whereby they could secure noon lunches and remain after school until the mother was able to care for them.

All of the families presented had more than three children.

Meeting the needs of the community in this respect are a few day nurseries and several boarding homes, some of which are unlicensed.

SOHO DAY NURSERY is the one particular agency doing the most work with children in need of day nursery care, although it is not in the Hill District. With an average attendance of 45 a day, it has only 6 Negro children enrolled. On June 25, 1929, there were 4 Negro children between the ages of 9 months and 3 years, and two between the ages of 3 years and 8 years. This nursery is open five days a week and its average fee is five cents a day.

THE SALVATION ARMY DAY NURSERY has accommodations for 25 children, 3 of whom are colored and have been attending the nursery for some time. According to the ensign in charge of the work it is impossible for this agency to care for all the children in the neighborhood. Children of all ages are admitted. The hours are from 7:00 A. M. to 6:00 P. M. Relief is given by the nursery to a few indigent colored families on Sundays. Fifteen or twenty colored children attend the Salvation Army Sunday School which is held in an adjoining building.

ST. ANNE'S DAY NURSERY with a capacity of 45, has no colored children enrolled.

The Salvation Army Day Nursery and St. Anne's Day Nursery are very close together on the same street so that they supply the same area in the Third Ward.

According to the Day Nursery Committee of Allegheny County, there are no colored day nurseries on its roll, but the secretary states—"We were told that we would soon have a day nursery for colored children in the Hill District."

XIV. APPENDIX

Facts About Negro Pittsburgh

Compiled from the Negro Survey of Pennsylvania 1925

Population	45,106
Negro Business Undertakings	874
Drug Stores	10
Rent per room per month (Negro)	6.77
Rent per room per month (White)	6.38
Per Cent of Negroes having	
Privy toilets	20.0
Outside toilets	30.0
Inside toilets	50.0
Bathtubs	20.0
Percentage of Home Ownership	11.0
Negro Physicians	29
Negro Dentists	17
Negro Nurses—Hospital and Public Health	4
Pool rooms for Negroes	28
Per cent of legitimate theaters segregating the Negro	56
Number of Negro Churches	61

The Reported Sources of Additional Income in 130 Families

	Number of Families
Lodgers	75
Boarders	26
Rent from Property	8
Extra work	5
Writing "Numbers"	4
Assistance from Relatives	3
Family Welfare Society	2
Wife's Savings	1
Interest from Mortgage	1
Workmen's Compensation	1
Association for Improvement of the Poor	1
Conducting Nursery	1
Soldiers' Compensation	1
Bank Account	1
Total	130

The following recreational facilities were found in 156 Negro homes in the Hill District by investigators during the field work of this survey:

Families having	Number of Families
Piano	16
Phonograph	54
Radio	32
Piano and phonograph	18
Piano and radio	5
Phonograph and radio	4
Piano, phonograph and radio	13
Automobiles	14
Total	156

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